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DECEMBER, 1883.

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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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No. CCCXXV.

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GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE TELEGRAPH.

THE telegraph wires extend over the length and breadth of our country; wherever the traveler journeys, or commerce is carried on, there the telegraph office is found. Though the correspondence by telegraph is increasing more rapidly than that by mail, yet it is under no governmental control except by State legislation. Unfortunately, the laws of the several States are sometimes conflicting with one another; and no State has the power to legislate for a business which extends into every State and Territory, and to every quarter of the habitable world. In this article I shall show the growth and importance of this business, the evils of the present telegraph system, their cause, and the remedy.

The Western Union Company practically monopolizes the telegraph business of the country. The growth of the telegraph is shown by the statistics of the business of this company from its re-organization, in 1866, to the present time. The telegrams have increased from 5,000,000 to 40,000,000, the capital from $20,000,000 to $80,000,000, the gross earnings from $6,000,000 to $19,000,000, the wires from 75,000 miles to 432,000 miles. The telegrams have doubled every six years, and now equal in number the letters transmitted by the Post-office in 1843, when Congress made an appropriation for the construction of the first telegraph line; and the revenue for the year ended July 1, 1883, is larger than that of the Post-office Department in 1870.

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The importance of this business transcends its magnitude; for every political, general, or local item of interest is sent by telegraph, and upon this news every daily paper depends for existence. The prices of every market in our country are daily regulated by its reports. Every important business transaction between parties at a distance, and the most important and vital social communications, are carried on by telegraph.

This business is well and promptly conducted. Though complaints are often made of the service, and sometimes with justice, a pretty extensive use of the telegraphs of England and the European continent during the last four years has convinced me that telegrams are sent more rapidly, and with fewer errors, here than abroad. As a telegraph for business, where dispatch is essential and the price is of little account, the Western Union system is unrivaled; but as a telegraph for the people it is a signal failure. Its advocates say that it costs more to send a telegram between two cities in different countries of Europe than between two places in America no further apart, and that therefore the telegraph is cheaper here than abroad. This is true, so far as interstate telegrams are concerned, for it is the policy of the European governments to make the rates low within their own jurisdictions and high elsewhere; and as high rates greatly restrict the business, comparatively few telegrams are sent between different countries. Even between France and England, where there is constant business and social correspondence by mail, comparatively few telegrams are sent.

A comparison of the telegraph business of America with that of several of the countries of Europe shows that the telegraph is used more freely in England, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland than with us, and more largely in proportion to letter correspondence in France. The rate in England is twenty-five cents for twenty words; with us, the average rate is thirty-eight cents for ten words. In Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, the rate is about ten cents per message. On the continent of Europe, more than two-thirds of the telegrams are on social matters, resembling in this respect letter correspondence; in our country, less than twelve per cent. are on social matters, about eight per cent. press, and the remainder, eighty per cent., are business messages. Thus, the great difference between the telegraph systems of Europe and America is, that abroad the telegraph is used principally by the people for social correspondence, here by business men for business purposes.

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The limited extent to which the telegraph is used in our country, in comparison with England and several other European countries, is due to want of uniformity in the rates, to high charges, to the discrimination in favor of business telegrams, and to the fact that ours is a business and railroad system, while those abroad are postal systems. The want of uniformity arises partly from competition, the rates having been reduced between competing points and retained between other offices —for instance, the rate from Washington to New York is fifteen cents; to other offices at no greater distance, forty cents—and partly to the fact that the rates are higher in the South than in the West, higher in the West than at the East, and higher between many small places than between many cities and small towns. For instance, the rate from Washington to Lynchburg, 180 miles, is forty cents; Chicago to St. Paul, 400 miles, fifty cents; from New York to Buffalo, 450 miles, thirty cents. The rates are not only high, but the annual reports of the Western Union Telegraph Company for the five years ended July, 1883, show an apparent steady advance in the average rate from forty-one cents in 1878 to forty-six cents in 1883, an increase of over ten per cent. I was so much surprised at this increase that I wrote to Dr. Green, the president of the Company, stating the result of my investigations, and received the following reply, which is printed with his permission:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY,

"NEW YORK, Sept. 19, 1883.

"MY DEAR MR. HUBBARD:—I hasten to acknowledge your favor of yesterday, and explain to you why the gross revenues and gross expenses are not any longer a proper basis for ascertaining the average cost and average receipts per message, unless you want to include the Atlantic and Cuba cable service, which, at the rate of fifty cents per word, materially increases the average receipts per message, and with the rentals paid therefor, and expenses of operating, largely increases the cost per message, whilst neither adds anything at all to the number of messages, for all messages passing over either pass also over Western Union lines proper.

"I find there is included in our revenue the earnings of the American cables, about $1,100,000; of the Gold and Stock Telegraph Company, for sale of its news and quotation service, not counted as messages, $1,417,000; from the I. O. T. Co., for cable messages to Cuba, $388,000; for rental of lines leased to private parties, bankers, and newspapers, the messages over which are not counted, $407,000; and for royalties on telephones, dividends on stocks in other companies, etc., about $700,000; making an aggregate of $4,012,000 that is not derived from the transmission of messages over Western Union lines in the United States and Canada. This

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leaves the revenue from that service about $15,440,000, and estimating the messages at 44,000,000, yields receipts of about thirty-five cents per message.*

"In like manner, there should be deducted from the total expenses the rentals paid and charged in current expenses: For the American cables, $700,000; on the outstanding stock in the Gold and Stock and Cuba Cable Companies, $301,000; and for the cost of operating these three companies, about $600,000, making an aggregate of $1,601,000; which being deducted, leaves the expenses of operating the Western Union system, $10,193,000, and the cost of handling 44,000,000 messages, about twenty-three cents each. This is quite as little cost per message as we have ever before exhibited.

"With the increased volume of business, we have the increased exactions for prompt service, requiring greatly increased facilities and expenditures for handling the bulk of it in a few business hours of the day, with the least possible delay both in the transmission and delivery.

"The figures I have given, as proper to be deducted from the gross receipts and expenditures of the past year, apply also to the greater part of the year previous; whilst during the past three years there have been several hundred thousand dollars per annum added to the expenses in the cost and consequences of vexatious litigations, compelling us for months, both in 1881 and 1883, under restraint of injunctions, to operate separately the properties we had absorbed, at largely increased expense.

"I trust these figures and suggestions may assist you in arriving at fair conclusions for the correct information of the public.

"Respectfully and truly yours,

"NORVIN GREEN, *President.*

"GARDINER G. HUBBARD, Esq., Cambridge, Mass."

In my estimates for 1878 and 1883 I have included all the earnings of the Company, whether derived from the cable business, the Gold and Stock Company, and the Inter-Ocean Cable Company, or from private lines, and divided these earnings by the total number of messages. The only difference, so far as I am aware, between the estimates for 1878 and for 1883, is that the latter include a larger proportion of earnings from the cable business, as in 1878 the Western Union Telegraph Company did not lease either of the Atlantic cables.

The reason assigned for the existence of higher rates here than in England is that there the average distance of transmission is only about fifty miles; here, 150 miles, or three times as far. But the cost of transmission does not increase proportionally with the distance, nor should distance be made the principal element in fixing a tariff of rates. Telegrams are sent from New York to

* The annual report of the Western Union, published since the date of Dr. Green's letter, shows the number of messages to be 41,000,000, the average receipts thirty-eight cents, the average cost of handling per message twenty-five cents.

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places within fifty miles of that city at a greater cost to the Company than similar messages sent to Chicago. Cheap telegraph service, like cheap postage, depends for its pecuniary success on low and uniform rates. The same objections were made to cheap postage that are now made to a cheap telegraph; and not until the managers of our telegraph learn that distance is only a minor factor in establishing paying rates, and one that can ultimately be disregarded, can we expect a cheap telegraph.

The very basis, therefore, on which our tariffs are founded is unsound and wrong in principle. It may be asserted as an axiom in the telegraph business that where the rates are high a large reduction will cause an immediate increase in the number, without a corresponding increase in the expense. The statistics of all foreign and home telegraphs prove this fact. It is only necessary to refer to those of the Western Union. From 1867 to 1879, the number of messages increased from 5,879,000 to 25,070,000, or four hundred per cent.; the rates were reduced from $1.04 to forty cents, or sixty per cent.; the expenses increased from $3,944,000, to $6,160,000, or fifty-five per cent.; while the net profits increased from $2,641,000 to $4,800,000, or nearly one hundred per cent.

The Company formerly pursued the policy of making an annual reduction in its rates, and of paying for all extensions out of earnings, and for eleven years it made an average yearly reduction in its rates of six per cent. a year. In 1874 it bought over $7,000,000 of its capital stock, reducing the capital outstanding from $41,073,400 to $33,785,675. In 1879 this policy was changed; a stock dividend of $5,960,608 was made. In 1881 another stock dividend of $15,526,590 was made, increasing the capital to $56,555,173, thus requiring $1,500,000 additional net earnings and a corresponding increase in the rates to pay seven per cent. on this new capital. If the annual ratio of decrease in the tolls had been continued, the average rate at the present time would not exceed thirty cents instead of thirty-eight cents; but the cessation of the reduction of rates and the declaration of large stock dividends went hand in hand, the latter necessitating the former.

The public are not satisfied with our telegraph system, and have tried two methods of obtaining a cheap telegraph. In 1869 resort was had to Congress, and protracted hearings were had before various congressional committees during almost every session until 1877. "The effect of these hostile proceedings against the

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Company," Mr. Orton, the president, said, "has been to induce the executive committee to proceed more rapidly with the work of increasing the facilities and reducing the rates than the actual condition of the Company's affairs may seem to justify." In the second place, relief was sought by the construction of competing lines, followed by large reduction of rates between competing points. The public, dissatisfied with the high rates of the Western Union, gladly take a few shares in any new company that offers to reduce the rates, and thus new companies are easily floated. But the oft-quoted remark of Mr. Stephenson, that where consolidation is possible there competition is impossible, was never more truly illustrated than by the telegraph. Again and again competing lines have been constructed, only to be bought by the Western Union. Between 1872 and 1879, the rates between Washington and Boston were reduced by competition four times and raised three times.

It is impossible for competing lines to give permanent relief, as they connect points already provided with telegraphic facilities, so that they merely duplicate the lines, offices, and employés. Three competing companies in Washington have offices in the same square, and as many parallel lines north and west. These three companies afford no greater facilities than one, and as that one can do all the business, these new lines add to the public burden by the amount of capital and the operating expenses of the competing lines.

Of all the consolidations, the recent ones have been the most unfavorable to the public. In 1881, $8,400,000 of stock of the Western Union was issued in exchange for the capital stock of the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company ($14,000,000), over one-half of which was then owned by the Western Union Telegraph Company, and $15,000,000 for the stock and bonds of the American Union Telegraph Company. It is difficult to ascertain what was obtained for these large sums. The controlling interest in the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company was purchased by the Western Union, in 1878, for $25 per share, or $1,806,250, and the remaining shares were probably worth no more in 1881, though they were then purchased for $60 per share.

By examination of the annual reports, we ascertain what new lines have been constructed or purchased each year, and the cost thereof. These reports should, therefore, show what lines the Western Union purchased of these companies in 1881, and

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their value. The additions to the equipment in 1880 were 2658 miles of pole line, 21,968 miles of wire, and 543 offices, at a cost of $1,123,584. In 1881, 24,695 miles of pole, 93,368 miles of wire, and 1660 offices; expenditure for equipment, $1,041,657. In 1882, 20,720 miles of pole, 47,107 miles of wire, and 1331 offices, at a cost of $1,037,000. The cost per mile of wire in 1880 was $51; in 1882 it was much less. In 1881, the year these companies were consolidated, 46,171 more miles of wire was added to the equipment than in 1882; at $51 per mile, this was worth $2,354,721. It does not appear that any other additions to the property of the Company were made, nor does the Western Union seem to have obtained any accession to its business, for the increase in the number of messages was no greater than the normal growth of its business. The Company, therefore, seems to have obtained property worth about $2,500,000 for $23,400,000, while they have "several hundred thousand dollars per annum added to the expenses in the cost and consequences of vexatious litigations, compelling us to operate separately the property we had absorbed." Consolidation invited further competition, for the Mutual Union was organized, and in 1883 the Western Union leased its lines for 999 years for an annual rental of $500,000, thus adding another weight to the burden to be borne by the public. Nor did the Western Union then obtain a monopoly, for new competitors have started up, anxious to be consolidated. The effect of the various consolidations and stock dividends is forcibly shown by a tabular statement:

The capital of the Company prior to its re-organization in 1866 was	$10,000,000
At that time it was increased by the issue of new stock for shares in other companies	20,568,000
It has been subsequently increased by the issue of new stock for shares in other companies	20,330,000
For stock dividends in 1866	10,000,000
For stock dividends in 1879	5,960,608
For stock dividends in 1881	15,526,590
For stock dividends in 1881, on account Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph shares owned by the Western Union and then divided	4,320,000
	$86,805,196
Less stock of the Company purchased in 1874	6,805,196
	$80,000,000

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The stockholders have received—	
Cash dividends, since 1866	$34,000,000
Stock dividends " 1879	25,817,198
And the Company had on hand, June 30, 1883, available assets toward future stock dividends	15,039,000
Total dividends and undivided assets since January 1, 1866	*$74,856,000

Since 1867, the public, besides contributing these cash dividends and assets, has paid $110,000,000, the operating expenses of the Company. The sum of $20,330,000, expended in the purchase of rival lines, represents a part of the cost to the public of its vain efforts, since 1867, to procure by competition a reduction of rates. These rival lines, when purchased, become a source of expense to the Western Union, as they are generally poorly constructed, and merely duplicate existing lines; still, as they block other competitors from using the routes, they are maintained. The lines, since 1866, have been constructed, and the business developed, at the expense of the public for the benefit of the shareholders of the Western Union Telegraph Company, who have not been called upon for any fresh capital. Railroad companies have made great extensions in the same period, but with scarcely an exception they have been made by fresh capital derived from the issue of stock and bonds.

The excuse for consolidation has been that the expenses were thereby reduced, but the recent consolidations have had the opposite effect. From 1868 to 1880 there had been a regular annual reduction in the average cost to the Company of transmission per message from 63.4 cents to 22.3 cents; total reduction, 41.1 cents per message, and this reduction would probably have been continued to the present time but for these consolidations. Dr. Green, in his annual report, estimates the expense per message at the present time at about twenty-five cents, or more than it was in 1880; while my estimate, made by dividing the expenses by the number of messages, is twenty-nine cents. The stock issued for the purchase of competing lines and for stock dividends, as above shown, was $46,036,000, the dividends upon which amount to $2,830,000; and the rental of the lines of the Mutual Union Company amount to $500,000 more; total,

* These tables are made up from reports of the Western Union Telegraph Company for different years. The figures are believed to be substantially correct.

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$3,330,000 per annum. Dividing this by 41,000,000, the number of last year's messages, we find the tax to the public, on account of the consolidations, to be 8·1 cents for each message.

I do not know of a dividend ever having been paid by a competing company except from capital, and I believe that the annual operating expenses of these companies, including a due allowance for depreciation, have always exceeded the income. It is, therefore, evident that if the Western Union had expended the above sum of $3,330,000 in reducing rates, it would have crippled the competing companies and compelled them to wind up or sell out to the Western Union at a fair price. Such a course would have prevented, instead of inviting, future competition.

Another great evil of the present system is the unrestricted and almost despotic power of the Western Union Telegraph Company. It transmits press news, amounting to about 100,000,000 words a year, or 3,330,000 messages; or, counting the drop copies and multiple deliveries of the same reports, about 800,000,000 words. For this service the Company receives about the same compensation per message that it receives for the transmission of average messages. The Company has in times past discriminated in its rates to the press; it has raised the rates to newspapers that criticised its action or favored opposing telegraph systems; and what it has done it possesses the power to do again.

One of the bureaus of the Western Union Telegraph Company daily collects the prices of all staples in the principal markets of the world, and transmits them to its customers in all our large cities; the farmers and cotton producers daily receive the market price of wheat and cotton. These reports were formerly collected and transmitted by private parties, but when the Western Union embarked in this business they bought out most of the parties engaged in it. One of them was unwilling to sell; whereupon the Western Union sent his messages in such a way that they were not received until about an hour after the receipt of similar news from the Western Union bureau, and thus the man was ruined. I believe this bureau is fairly and honestly managed, but it has unlimited control over these dispatches, and this power can be used for private ends.

The telegraph in America is peculiarly a business system; eighty per cent. of the messages are on business matters, great facilities are given to these interests, and discriminations and

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preferences made in their favor. Exchanges in different cities are connected by through wires, and messages sent directly from one exchange to another, the operator receiving the order to buy or sell, which is executed the same instant at the other exchange, neither message nor answer being reduced to writing. The managers of the telegraph know that their business customers want the quickest and best service, and care more for dispatch than low tariffs. The public cannot pay these high rates for social correspondence, and therefore do not use the telegraph.

In the early days of telegraphy, the railroads were inestimable aids to its rapid growth; the railroads soon appreciated the value of the telegraph in running their trains, and contracts were made by which great privileges were given to the telegraph company. Then competing companies made liberal proposals to the railroads, and as the old contracts matured the railroads insisted on more free wires on their own lines, and more "dead-head" or "half-rate" messages to points off their lines. The Western Union was compelled to accede to these terms, or give up the lines to the competing companies. The conditions demanded by the Pennsylvania Railroad were so stringent that on the expiration of the contract with that company, a few years ago, the Western Union refused to accept them, and a contract was made with the American Union, then controlled by Mr. Gould. On some of the roads, the New York Central for example, the railroad retains the ownership of the telegraph lines, with the exclusive use of certain wires and the right to use others when required by its business. The only telegraph offices in small towns are at railroad stations, operated and maintained by the railroad. This saves some cost to the telegraph company, but at the expense of the public, for these offices are often at considerable distances from the business centers, and messages are frequently interrupted and delayed by railroad dispatches. When the English Government took over the telegraphs, they severed connection with the railroads and established independent lines, generally over the highways.

The Western Union Telegraph Company, not content with the telegraphic system of this continent, leased the Atlantic cables of Mr. Gould, and through their control of the business from America to Europe forced the European cable companies to pool the receipts of the cable business of both worlds. Its

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business has thus become co-extensive with the commerce of the country. It is evident, from a mere statement of this fact, that no State legislature can deal with this business, for the laws of a State have no vitality beyond the State limits. This doctrine has been repeatedly affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. That tribunal has recently decided that laws of California, regulating the rates on lines of steamers navigating the Pacific Ocean were invalid, even though the vessel only plied between two ports in that State, for the United States have exclusive jurisdiction on the high seas beyond one league from the shore. Fortunately, Congress has full power. The Constitution gives Congress power to establish post-offices and post-roads, and the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that this power embraces the entire postal system of the country.* The first resolution passed by the Continental Congress in relation to the post-office was on May 25, 1775, as follows:

"As the present critical situation of the colonies renders it highly necessary that ways and means should be devised for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence from one end of the continent to the other, *Resolved*, That Mr. Franklin and others be a committee to consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent."

The power of Congress to construct post-roads, to own and operate lines of stage-coaches for carrying the mails and passengers, to construct and operate lines of telegraph, has, I believe, rarely been doubted. Under Jefferson and his successors, appropriations were made for the construction of the National or Cumberland road, and surveys made for a post-road south, through South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf States to New Orleans. In 1801, the mail was carried between Philadelphia and Baltimore in a line of stage-coaches established and operated by the Postmaster-General. In 1819, Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, recommended Congress "to construct a judicious system of roads and canals for the convenience of commerce and the transportation of the mails." In 1824, an act was passed making appropriations for surveys and estimates for roads and canals for the transportation of the mail. In 1843, and several years succeeding, Congress made appropriations for the construction and operation of lines of telegraph. In 1866, an act

* 96 United States Reports, 11, Pensacola Co. *vs.* Western Union Tel. Co.

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was passed providing for the purchase and operation of any and all telegraph lines of companies accepting the provisions of that act. The precedents are thus continuous from the fathers of our country to the present time.

The President of the Western Union says "the telegraph is not a postal service. It does not transport sealed packages or original communications." It would seem that he does not understand the function of the postal service, which, according to an ordinance passed in 1772, and continued in force by successive acts of Congress for many years, is "the communicating intelligence with regularity and dispatch from one part to another of these United States." A telegraph, according to the dictionary, is a "means of conveying intelligence beyond the limits of distance at which the human voice is audible, the idea of speed being also implied." The business of the post-office and the telegraph is the transmission of intelligence between parties at a distance; the only essential difference is in the means of transmission. In the one case the letter, sealed or open, is bodily transmitted; in the other, the contents are transmitted.

Congress, in 1843, appropriated funds for the construction of the first line of telegraph in this country, between Washington and Baltimore, and for two or three years it was operated by the Post-office Department. The Postmaster-General, in his report for 1845, says that the telegraph "is a means of transmitting intelligence accessible to all at prescribed rates of postage," and he adds, "This is an important duty confided to the Post-office by the Constitution; it is an agent vastly superior to any other ever devised by the genius of man for the diffusion of intelligence. The use of an instrument so powerful for good or evil cannot, with safety to the people, be left in the hands of private individuals, uncontrolled by law."

Our Post-office is maintained by the people solely for their benefit, and is better managed, and with more economy, in our country than in any other. The telegraph is run by a private company primarily for the benefit of its shareholders, and is managed with less economy than the Post-office. There is no country where there is the same demand for the telegraph as with us, on account of the great extent of our territory, and the close and constant social and business intercourse between the various sections. It is not as generally used as it should be, because the rates are so high as to prevent its frequent use

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between remote places. There is no reasonable excuse for high rates; for, as we have shown, the Western Union would necessarily have continued the annual reduction in its rates, which would have given us a cheap telegraph, if it had not been for its large stock dividends and injurious contracts with rival and other companies.

I will make a concise recapitulation of the evils of the present system, and then point out a remedy. The evils are: (1) high and irregular rates; (2) the monopoly of the business by a single company; (3) the inflation of its capital by stock dividends; (4) the purchasing and leasing of competing and connecting lines and cables; (5) want of economy in the management; (6) identification with railroad and commercial interests; and (7) unlimited control, unregulated by law, of most important business interests.

Abroad, we find a postal-telegraph system, with low, uniform, and diminishing rates, economical administration, a popular, as opposed to a private, system. The only effectual remedy for the evils of our system is governmental control, by the purchase of the telegraph lines, or by the establishment of a postal telegraph with low rates, or by the enactment of laws regulating the present system. The purchase of the lines of the telegraph companies has been advocated by several Postmasters-General. It involves the appropriation of a large sum of money and the transfer of the power from one monopoly to another. The Western Union alleges that the Government originally undertook to manage the telegraph, and then abandoned it and sold out its lines and allowed the Western Union to take up the business. It therefore claims that the Government cannot now resume, except by purchase under the provisions of the act passed in 1866. This act provides for the appointment of appraisers to value the property of the telegraph company whose lines the United States desire to buy, and gives certain rights to companies accepting its provisions. The Western Union accepted these provisions, and thereby agreed to sell its property at an appraisal. The capital of the Western Union is $80,000,000, its market price at $80 per share is $64,000,000, its net earnings are over seven per cent. per annum upon its capital. The Western Union would have a right to demand that their property should not be appraised at less than its selling value, if the stockholders had expended that or any similar sum upon the plant; but, as has been shown, the

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public has, since the passage of the act of 1866, contributed more largely to the purchase of the plant than the stockholders, and are, therefore, equitably entitled to share in the benefits if they become the purchasers. Again, it has been urged that the property should be appraised at its cost. We can estimate its cost by the amount expended by the Western Union during the last sixteen years for its lines. This is less than $60 per mile, or, for the whole equipment, $22,500,000. This estimate neither includes real estate nor the contracts of the Western Union with the various railroad companies, nor its interest in cables or telephone and other patents, which are probably worth as much or more than its equipment.

I do not believe that Congress would be willing to appropriate $80,000,000 for the purchase of the lines of the Western Union Telegraph Company, or even to submit the question to arbitration; nor do I think that the people would be willing to give the monopoly to the Post-office Department. The President of the Western Union says, with truth, that "the telegraph is not generally used by the people." Some plan must be devised by which they can use it; and I believe the solution lies in the establishment of a postal telegraph, which, without competing with the business of the Western Union, shall provide a cheap telegraph. According to the last report of the President of the Western Union, the average rate is thirty-eight cents; and, as I have stated above, the average distance of transmission is less than one hundred and fifty miles. This means that the great majority of messages are sent between points not far apart, and therefore the majority are low-rate messages. Although the benefit of the telegraph to the public increases with the distance, less than twenty per cent. of the messages are transmitted more than three hundred miles. The business must be enormous at low rates, and if low rates can be established between remote places, a business nearly as large between them will be created.

Congress could create a postal system, using the present post-offices and delivery system, either constructing its own lines or contracting with parties to furnish all necessary lines for transmitting telegrams, the contractors receiving the rates fixed by Congress in full compensation for constructing, maintaining, and operating the lines, the post-office furnishing such additional facilities as might be required for the purpose of transmitting, at low rates and with greater economy, business

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of a less urgent nature than that now sent over the Western Union lines. The Western Union would continue to perform a large part of the commercial business, on account of greater dispatch, and the business of the railroads It would be inexpedient to adopt a low and uniform rate at once, as it would increase the business beyond the ability of the Postal Department or of any company to handle it. I believe that a uniform night rate of thirty cents between all offices, and a day rate of twenty-five cents between offices east of the Mississippi, and offices west of that river and east of the Rocky Mountains, a like rate between offices west of the Rocky Mountains, and a rate not exceeding fifty cents between any two offices in different sections, would give the people what they need, and make the postal telegraph self-supporting. There are now at least 50,000,000 messages transmitted yearly by existing companies, requiring not less than 150,000 miles of pole lines. In six years, at the ordinary rate of increase, 100,000,000 messages will be transmitted. If a postal system with low rates should be inaugurated, the number would be increased to 150,000,000 messages, which would give business enough for all the lines and employés of the Western Union and the postal system.

Congress should also enact laws regulating the present service, prohibiting stock dividends, and also prohibiting the increase of capital, except for cash, and to the par value of the stock issued; prohibiting consolidations, either by lease or purchase, unless made with the approval of the Postmaster-General, and then at a valuation made by appraisers nominated by the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States. Congress should also give to the press the right to use the telegraph without discrimination in price. It should limit the business of a telegraph company to the transmission of messages, and provide that any telegraph company connecting with another shall have its messages carried over the lines of the other company at pro rata rates and without undue delay. It should provide for full annual returns of the business of the several companies to the Postmaster-General, and limit the dividends to seven per cent. a year on their capital.

Such provisions would compel the Western Union to reduce its rate about six per cent. per annum, which would give low and nearly uniform rates in a very few years.

GARDINER G. HUBBARD.

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CAUSES OF FELICITY.

By the hard and fast scientific mode of looking at the phenomena of nature, it might seem at first view that human felicity had no proof of existence. But there are, fortunately, other evidences which give positive proof of it in characters as purely scientific as any in the observation of science. Granting that these are exceptional evidences, they are still proof of the fact. I notice four of these evidences as all-sufficient. In perfect childhood, uncrossed by perverse and chilling influences and blessed by health, felicity exists, not perchance universally, but as a rule. I remember some few pages of my own childhood history, which were filled with an unbounded felicity—a felicity which can be remembered, though it cannot be again realized, or even explained in relation to the precise causes that led to it. I have questioned others on the same point, and, although the response has been much more frequently in the negative than I expected to find it, and although the inquiry has often laid bare a recollection of misery, rather than of felicity in childhood, that could not have been anticipated, it has yielded certainly a balance of evidence on the affirmative side, and this is sufficient to prove the reality of the phenomenon, in at least one stage of life.

There are, again, men and women who pass through life and, by some fortunate heredity of constitution, supplemented by cares of an individual kind, go through long, trying, and eventful careers with perfection of felicity. Joseph Priestley was one of these fortunates. "I was born," he says, "of a happy disposition." And so this man, through a life of struggle and tempest such as few men have known, was ever in felicity. In his child-life he loses his mother. He leaves his home and is domiciled with an aunt, whose gloomy tenets would drive some natures to the deepest melancholy. He passes through severe

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changes of thought on solemnest subjects. He becomes a preacher, but, owing to a defect of speech, cannot display an eloquence he knows is in him; and, tossed from pulpit to pulpit, penniless, is forced to teach that he may live. He becomes half friend, half librarian of a nobleman, by whom he is petted at first, and then, with the capriciousness of power, is turned off, as a once-favored dog might be, without a word of explanation. He makes one of the grandest discoveries of the century, and lives to see it accredited to another man to whom he communicated it in the most open manner. Suspected of sympathizing with children of liberty, he becomes, under the vengeance of a vulgar priest, the victim of an ignorant mob, which burns his house and all his precious papers, and he escapes barely with his life. Coming to London, he is obliged to hide from enmity, and (cruelest cut of all) is disowned by and cast out of the learned society whose work he has helped to immortalize. At last, driven in his old age from his native country, he goes to a foreign and distant land, forgiving every one, to die there in perfect peace. Such changes as these, such oppressions through every stage of life, would kill an ordinary man. Yet here was a man who went through every phase of suffering with felicity. His friends, one and all, bear witness to this fact from their objective side. He personally testifies to the same, and explains the reason: "I was born of a happy disposition."

We gather from such instances as these, rare, it is true, but reliable, that in the range of physical life there is a felicity due to heredity; to some combinations of ancestry which, being repeated, would lead to the birth of an almost new race, amongst which Priestley's own desire, "the greatest good for the greatest number," would be the common blessing. For that which has once been born may be born again, and by birth become universal as a progress. If one man can hold felicity in his hand all his life, and in all adversities, why not all men?

There is a third proof of felicity which comes within the knowledge of the majority of mankind, although it is not universal, for I have known a few who have afforded no evidence of it. This proof consists of a sensation felt, I repeat, by most persons, of peace, tranquillity and, in a word, felicity, which often, in consequence of its abruptness and the sharp contrast with what has gone before, is a cause of extreme surprise, so that the event is often recalled and often expected with antici-

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pation. In such moments the actual cares of the world sit lightly. The impossible, a short time before, becomes the possible or the easy. Dark forebodings which have pressed almost to despair pass away, and the future is roseate with prospect. There are few who have not experienced this curious change toward felicity. They may say that it is a fleeting change, and that may be true; but the fact is certain and immeasurably instructive. For if felicity can be obtained for one day, for one hour, why not for all days, for all hours.

The flashes of felicity are sometimes startling from their abruptness. They are at other times equally startling from their intensity, and from the relief which they give to the opposite depression with which they stand out in contrast. In speaking of this contrast, and of the advent of felicity after extreme depression, the common explanatory term is singular. Depression is almost invariably described as a physical weight or burthen, and felicity as the removal of a weight, like a physical burthen which has oppressed the body and, in extreme circumstances, has bent it low. "He is bowed down with sorrow" is an expression as true as it is striking. Bunyan seizes on this physical truth. The pilgrim, while yet he is wanting felicity, is troubled with a burthen which weighs upon his back night and day, felicity coming when that burthen falls from his shoulders. The illusionist has here defined what he himself had felt, and hence the force of a description which every man and woman who has read Bunyan has, with very few exceptions, recognized. Felicity is lightness from burthen. The common folk call it lightness of spirit, light-heartedness, being lifted up above the common fate of daily oppression and daily sorrow. The terms define the fact.

When felicity is most absent, this sense of oppression shows itself in other ways which indicate the physical process and suggest the ponderable nature of something that tells on the body and on the mind. In densest states the faculty of memory is often overburthened with details long stored up, which have to be remembered, re-arranged, and reconjectured upon with painful and acutest precision. The thoughts undulate, and great waves seem to overwhelm another organization belonging to the man himself, yet lying afar back and obscured by these rolling tides, dark, dense, material, weighty. With felicity all these waves of deathly pressure pass away. The memory is charged

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with no recurring scene of sadness; the calculated difficulties do not appear; the organization which lies in the shade becomes brilliant, and the future is charged with no gloom. These phenomena constitute, both by reality and contrast, what may be called the full-grown subjective proofs of felicity.

Lastly, there are certain objective proofs which lookers-on may observe if they will contemplate others, and which, as independent evidences, are perhaps the most certain. A good perception of character, and, if I may use the term, diagnosis, leads the looker-on to note and know the symptoms of felicity in others; for the symptoms are clear. In the wake of felicity the pulse is regular, tonic, free; the breathing is natural; the eye is bright and clear; the countenance, even in age, is youthful; the appetites are keen, but orderly; the judgment is sound, but joyous; the muscular bearing is firm, coördinate, steady; there is no indication of carrying a load on the back or of oppressive sinking exhaustion.

In the above few passages I have sketched out the phenomena of the felicity we are considering. I have entered into no metaphysical subtleties in definition; I have rested on every-day experience, and having thereby, I trust, afforded the evidence of the state desired, I pass to the thought of how to extend this state — a thought which, according to my view, is eminently practical. To arrive at the idea of the mode of working in this direction, we cannot do better than survey, in the first place, the conditions under which the phenomena of felicity and of its counterpart, depression or infelicity, are manifested.

By a sort of general impression, the weather is believed to exert a peculiar influence for and against the phenomena of felicity. In this view there is some undoubted truth; an increase of the atmospheric pressure and a decrease is each a cause of felicity. In ascending from valleys to moderate heights there is, up to a certain distance, a distinct effect of this kind. So definite is the action that I know of one person who, under some conditions, feels that life is a load too hard to bear, but who, in a dry, bright, mountain region to which resort is often made, throws off the despair altogether and lives a new life. In the nicely adjusted balance of atmospheric pressure against animal circulation of blood, the circulation is relieved by a moderate removal of pressure. But if such removal be too great, if the organs of the body become congested from the removal, as they

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may be, the spell is broken. On the other hand, if the pressure be put on to several atmospheres, so that the blood is surcharged with air-gas and the venous blood is made of arterial brightness, the depression of mind is not, at the moment, a marked symptom. It becomes such at certain stages during recovery from the effects of the pressure, not under it in its extreme form. The brightness of mind induced by removal of pressure and freer circulation is, however, subject to other conditions. Dryness must accompany lightness of air to produce the condition favorable to felicity. There may, again, be conditions in which a slight excess of pressure may be conducive to felicity. In the regions where the land is low, compared with the sea level, a slight increase of atmospheric pressure may be advantageous. The air is then usually dry, the wind bracing, and, the vital organs being charged with blood, a condition is obtained which is essentially favorable, in low-lying districts, to the whole of the communities that occupy them.

There are electrical conditions of the atmosphere during which felicity contrasts strongly and strangely with the depression incident to other conditions. My friend, Mr. Hingeston, of Brighton, has very beautifully connected these varying states of atmosphere and these varying states of mind with cloud-land. He sees in the clouds the outward and visible signs of the mental state. The large, white-headed cumuli that collect in clear, bright days are rotary storms of hail, rain, or thunder, gyrating from left to right. Several of these gyrating storms keep marching onward in alternate spaces, marshaled in vast circular array, and rolling around a circumference of bright, translucent calm. On the approach of one of these masses of vapor, the mercury of the barometer first falls and then rises with great rapidity. The accompanying and residual state of the atmosphere is congenial to health. Now the debilitated experience favorable reaction, and the mind is serene and happy. The air in these moments is antagonistic of disease. With the breaking up and dissolving of these large cumuli there is electric action, and most likely explosion, just as the vapor is being condensed into water. The entire atmosphere changes. Everything is dull and gray. The so-called dyspepsia prevails, the acid indigestion of gouty habits, the ills of the scrofulous, indolent, and pitiable host of "never wells." Thus, observes my friend, the sensorial effects of the electrical fluid are proof paramount of its pathological,

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physiological energy; and the various forms assumed by the vapors condensing or dissolving in the air — clouds — may be considered not only as picturesque beauties in the landscape, but also as criteria for judging of some of the most potent effects resulting from the operation of an experiment silently and delicately performed upon the functions and sensations of animated beings.

Cold and heat play different parts in the production and reduction of felicity. A dry and sharp cold wave exerts a gentle pressure on the surface of the body, which fills the nervous centers with blood and helps to felicity of mind. A long and piercing, easterly, chilling wind checks circulation, robs heat, and produces even melancholic sadness. A dry, genial warmth acts like a bracing cold. A long warmth, with moisture, checks the vital action and produces a degree of depression which may be as intense as that which is induced by prolonged exposure to cold.

The seasons of the year which are attended with least exhaustion of the body are those which favor felicity. When the exhaustion of the winter and depressing spring months has been removed by the warmth of a genial summer and autumn, the time is most favorable for serenity of mind. On the other hand, the exhaustion of winter and spring induces depression, and is no doubt the cause of that melancholy which renders the months of spring the maximum periods of death by suicide.

Purity of the atmosphere is an unquestionable aid to felicity. The comparison of children living under differing circumstances is sufficient proof of this fact. The children of an open, well-ventilated school-room, how different are they from those who are immured in some of the close, over-packed dens which are called school-rooms. Compare the felicity of the children of the well-to-do who live out-of-doors, and even of the children of the fields and open streets, with that of the children of the small trader, whose back parlor is living-room and play-ground; or the felicity of the man or woman who leads an outdoor life with that of those who live in the close office or work-room.

There are still other agencies which bring, or which check, human felicity, and which are as purely physical in character as those above recorded. There are substances which, taken into the body, produce strange contrasts in respect to felicity and depression. Foods well cooked, foods carefully selected, foods sup-

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plied in sufficient quantity to sustain the body equally in all its parts, and so moderate as never to oppress the nervous digestive powers, all conduce to felicity in the most telling manner. Many common foods and drinks affect the system specially. As a rule, all agents which stimulate, that is to say, relax the arterial tension, and so allow the blood a freer course through the organs, for a time promote felicity, but in the reaction leave depression. The alkaloid in tea, theine, has this effect. It causes a short and slight felicity. It causes, in a large number of persons, a long and severe, and even painful, sadness. There are many who never know a day of felicity owing to this one destroying cause. In our poorest districts, amongst the poor women of our industrial populations, our spinning, our stocking-weaving women, the misery incident to their lot is doubled by this one agent.

There is another agent more determinate in its effects and contrasts than tea, and that is wine. I am a total abstainer, but I am an honest observer also; and I confirm, from direct observation, the old saying, that "wine maketh glad the heart of man." If it did this and no more, I should say let the felicity of wine remain to the world. Wine, like the alkaloid in tea, relaxes, lets loose the channels of the blood; gladdens like the ascent by the mountain side; gladdens like the gentle atmospheric pressure which forces more blood on to the internal parts. But, and here, alas! is the rub, carried a little beyond the right mark, the felicity passes into folly, the folly into feebleness, the feebleness into stupor, and the stupor into a depression, the reaction from which is of the bitterest of human sufferings.

The whole of the narcotic series of substances, in the use of which human beings indulge in order to secure felicity, comes under the same condemnation as the two last-named agents. They differ somewhat in mode of action, for they stupefy, and by that means produce a negative condition which is not pleasure, but which may be considered to be an abolition or suspension of misery. This were, to some extent, excusable, if not reasonable, did the quiet end in these negations; but it does not; it is followed by a depression which, less acute, is more prolonged than that which follows the excitement of alcoholic stimulation. Tobacco is one of the narcotic substances which produces the suspension of anxiety, or, as it is said, soothes irritability without stimulation, and, in time, leaves in many persons long depression, coupled with an appetite for renewed indulgence, which

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becomes one of the most intense, and, if I may use the expression, most morbid of passions. The confirmed smoker who can stand out against the indirect effects, whose taste for food and whose digestive endurance is not injured, is kept, during the whole time he indulges the habit, in the state of suspension. He does not enjoy felicity, but for the time experiences a relief from infelicity. My own experience, on the whole, is opposed to the indulgence, and I tested it for a long period of my life, as well as observed the effect of it upon others. To the aged it gives, I confess, a negative existence which, when the mind is not filled with choice or refined or cultivated pleasures, makes time less wearisome. To the man who engages in work of great excitement, and of a mental kind, it brings a sense of repose. But, on the whole, it is a bad, and sometimes a fatally bad, indulgence. I have once known a man to die directly from the effects, and how many I have seen injured I cannot say, but a large number. Again, I have seen many much depressed by it, so that I dare not put it forward, at its best, as a promoter of felicity. The world, I must conclude, would be happier if tobacco were unknown or unemployed.

The habitual use of opium for the desire of felicity is of the same erroneous character. The opium smoker, the opium eater, tell us of certain dreams and phantasies which are for a moment felicitous wanderings of the mind. I have visited the opium den to see the effects, and whatever the dream may be subjectively, it presents to the observer no sign of felicity. The expression of the opium smoker is one of restless and intense anxiety. He looks like a man in a dream of misery. His eyes are joyless, his features contorted, his skin pallid or dark, his pulse slow and laboring, his breathing hard and heavy; and when from the half struggling consciousness he wakes to reason, the dream he describes is too confused to be accepted as a dream of felicity. Then he falls into dejection, which deepens and deepens until the desire to return to the cause of the dejection is too overpowering to be resisted. To opium eating and to subcutaneous injection of opium or morphia the same description, with some modification, on which I need not dwell, is perfectly applicable. From the use of such an agent as opium there can be no result of human felicity. There could soon be produced by an extension of the use a madder world than now exists, a more miserable; a happier, never! And this saying,

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according to my knowledge, extends to all narcotic substances. There are some, like methylic ether and nitrous oxide gas, which produce infinitely more refined felicity than those I have specifically named, but in the end the results are the same.

I have dwelt thus far on influences of a purely physical kind in their relation to felicity. I have put these influences in contrast, as affecting the state of felicity, and I have touched on some agencies which are used to produce a mock felicity. I must pass from these to a consideration of influences of a different nature, which affect us for or against our happy or felicitous existence. In touching on this side of our subject, the question of hereditary constitution comes prominently into view.

There are some constitutional differences determined by temperaments which are first in importance. Of the four primary temperaments, the sanguine, the nervous, the bilious, the lymphatic, and of their relation to felicity, a volume might be written. I have collected the facts relating to the temperaments of over a thousand persons, and have had collected the temperaments of all the occupants of one of the largest asylums for the insane, in order to determine how the exalted, as distinct from the melancholic, insanities are moved by constitutional stamp of mind. I must not here touch, however, on any detail. I must be content to record as a general fact that, in the earlier days of life, the sanguine is the happier temperament, but not the most sustained; that the dark or bilious is the least happy in early life, but is often, in time, rendered very serene; that the nervous yields a varying condition, full of ups and downs; that the lymphatic is, by a negative effect, the most even; that amongst the twenty-four combinations of temperament the sanguine-lymphatic is the most felicitous on the animal side of man, and the bilious-sanguine and the bilious-lymphatic on the intellectual side; that the nervous-sanguine is the most irritable, and the nervous-lymphatic the most helpless and miserable.

The moral influences and impressions affecting these natures are, from first to last, potent on most of the temperaments and on most of the combinations of temperament. In childhood, the future history of the felicitous or infelicitous after-life is usually written. A few born, like Priestley, of a happy disposition, fight through all adversity, filled with a magic soul of felicity; but these are very few indeed, and are usually of good dispositions.

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In childhood they are not affected as others are. In the school-room, as in the play-ground, they are happy. As a rule, the tendency to felicity or its opposite is planted in childhood. The parent, the school-master, the school-mistress, hold the book not of learning simply, but of fate. To the imitative mind of the young, absorbing all that the senses can carry to it and the nervous centers can retain, the character of the presiding mind, ever present with joy or sorrow, justice or injustice, love or hate, cruelty or mercy, as its qualities, is the beginning of the end.

Let me, as bearing on these matters of thought, not diverge from but converge to our present study by a reference to the position of felicity as a physiological quality in life. Of the two natures with which man is endowed, and which by the duality distinguish him from the lower creation,—the pure animal and the pure intellectual natures,—felicity belongs to his animal nature. Felicity and misery are the signs of his still animal character. The intellectuality that would be separable from the animal existence would, if acting of itself, leave the man beyond felicity or its contrary.

Felicity, in short, is not an intellectual faculty at all; it is not seated in the brain. It is not a quality which a man can think himself into, or reason himself into, or directly will himself into. It is, like the beating of his heart and the circulation of his blood, a vital process, going on independently of his volition. He can by rude process destroy it for himself as he can for others. He can kill it for himself as he can stop the motion of his blood by stabbing himself to the heart; but still the quality is so independent of himself that he is often forced to be in felicity by things and acts and circumstances which his reason scorns. "Why does this fool of a book make me happy?" said a hard and suffering and miserable patient once to me as he pitched his "Pickwick" to the foot of the bed; "yet it is the only thing that does, while all the time I know that such a set of asses as these Pickwickians could never possibly have existed."

By experience of what seems to increase felicity, to lighten misery, to make misery, we often confound felicity and sorrow with intellect. This is merely our own external looking upon external manifestations of internal phenomena, which we know we cannot influence in the same way as we can teach a lesson or convey a fact, but which we strive to control because we think we must do something even for the uncontrollable.

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Felicity and its counterpart are not intellectual faculties, neither are they passions, neither have they any direct relationship to physical pain. They are distinct from intellect, passion, physical pain. They are the only true emotions. The man who is destitute altogether of felicity is not of necessity deficient in intellectual power, or destitute of passion, or more or less sensitive to pain than any one else. The most intellectual may be the most miserable; the most silly and inconsequent may be the most blest with felicity. The worst instance of extreme, I may truly say harrowing, misery I ever knew was in one of judicial mind, whose clearness and calmness of judgment was a subject of general admiration, but who had never, he told me, known (notwithstanding his eminent success) in all his life an hour of felicity. The man most replete with felicity I ever knew was one who was endowed with no intellectual supremacy, and who was all through a long life a veritable child.

The center of the emotion of felicity is not in the brain. The center is in the vital nervous system, in the great ganglia of the sympathetic, lying not in the cerebro-spinal canals, but in the great cavities of the body near the stomach and near the heart. We know where the glow which indicates felicity is felt; our poets have described it with perfect truthfulness as in the breast; it comes as a fire kindling there. No living being ever felt happy in the head; everybody who has been happy has felt it from within the body. We know again where the depression of misery is located. Our physicians of all time have defined that, and have named the disease of misery after its local seat. The man who is ever miserable is a "hypochondriac." His affection is below the ribs. No man ever felt misery in the head. Every man who has felt misery knows that it springs from the body; speaks of it as an exhaustive sinking there. He is broken-hearted; he is failing at the center of life; he is bent down because of the central failure, and his shoulders, too heavy to be borne, feel as if oppressed by an added weight or burthen, under which he bends, as if all the cares of the world were upon him to bear him down.

To return. There are numerous influences which in an indirect way tell upon felicity, for it or against it, as distinctly as those grosser agencies mentioned in the earlier part of this essay. To these I would now invite attention. The influences to which I am about to refer are in reality purely physical in

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their action, although they are commonly known as habitual, sensational, moral, or mental influences.

I notice, in the first place, that felicity is always favored by sufficiency of rest and sleep. But sleepers know no felicity; yet they who sleep in childhood and old age ten hours, in adolescence nine, and in middle active age eight hours soundly out of the twenty-four, are mostly well favored with the blessing. They may be exposed to causes which are opposed to felicity, but even then the causes are feebler in action than they otherwise would be. I put sleep in the first place as an aid to felicity because it is the first. I have no knowledge of any instance in which a person who slept well was altogether devoid of felicity. The beneficent action of sleep in regard to felicity is, however, indirect. It is due to the physical and mental strength which it confers on those it favors.

Strength of body secures felicity. Persons comparatively weak of mind may, with a good physique, be happy; but very few who are weak of body have any long tastes of felicity. We may take it all around that the feeble of all ages are unhappy. It is a matter of common observation that persons who are so unfortunate as to be born deformed of body, though the defect be concealed or hidden, are not blessed with felicity. It is not the fact of the deformity which causes the infelicity, for that may be concealed; it is the bad health as the rooted cause of the defect which tells. Let the defect be from accident happening to a person born of good stamina and shape, and his felicity, despite the acquired defect, may be the same as in others; let it be inbred, then it is the cause of infelicity. Any sign of inherited weakness is an equal sign of absent felicity, though it be no marked physical defect. Cardanus observed, with much acuteness, that persons who from early life showed very large and prominent veins, and thereby a languid circulation of the blood, are never happy, while those of well-knit body are. The observation is perfect. We physicians know that a sluggish circulation is incompatible with felicity, and that they who show this indication, by such local diseases as hæmorrhoids, for example, are amongst the most depressed of the many who consult us. We say of these that they suffer from arrested circulation through the liver, and doubtless such arrest is depressing; but the arrest means physical exhaustion, and physical exhaustion is the root of the evil. When the circulation is sluggish the liver

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is sluggish and the brain is sluggish, and the nervous centers are depressed. In a sentence, whatever prevents physical exhaustion and sustains physical strength sustains felicity, while unhappiness follows the feeble body as the shadow follows the substance.

When the sun of life is high,
All is bright;
When the sun of life is low,
All is night.
Thus we laugh, and thus we sigh,
Light and shade where'er we go.

Physical work, when it is carried to an extent short of exhaustion, keeps up felicity, and sloth destroys it. But the physical work that exhausts kills felicity. The argument extends equally to mental work. Moderate, wholesome, mental work is the best of all aids to felicity next to sleep; it strengthens the mind, it softens grief, and soothes care. Carried to excess it is pernicious, and destroys all felicity. Cowper, the poet, was wont to say that no labor is so wearing as composition, and few men possibly have felt more unhappiness as the result of mental exhaustion than he. But his is the fate of all who force the poorly nourished brain to daily or nightly repeated weariness.

The influences derivable from sleep and bodily power are purely physical influences, but there are others called sensational which, through the physical nature, have a potent effect for or against felicity. The sense of hearing has the most intimate connection with the vital or animal nervous system. The auditory nerve, as Dr. Bucke has shown, possesses many of the characteristics of an organic or sympathetic nerve, and we all know how many external vibrations which reach the ear affect the digestive system, produce appetite for food and a feeling of felicity; or, on the other hand, set the teeth on edge, destroy appetite, and give rise to gloom. Thus things told affect quickly, often permanently, for good or bad. By the sense of sight we are affected also in regard to felicity, but less intensely, and after a different manner. Sights gladden or dazzle or pall or sicken.

Not to extend an argument which admits of any degree of extension, the senses, as doors and windows through which impressions vibrate into the animal organization, can scarcely be touched by external phenomena without exerting some influence

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that shall make or disturb or prevent felicity. When they convey beauty in sound or picture; when they convey variety; when they convey cheerfulness of act and manner and voice and feeling; when they convey to the soul the picture or story of generosity, of courage, of purity of life and character, of prosperity,— then they convey felicity which, passing through the brain on its way, finds its seat in the vital centers near the heart, within the body.

I have striven so far to indicate what may be called the physiological bearings of the subject. I have endeavored to show that felicity is something that is of hereditary quality; that it is something that is made or not made by external agencies over which we have little control; that it is something which is made or not made by many agencies which we have directly under our control. In these respects felicity stands precisely in the same position as health, in the widest sense means health, and is another word for health. Health, like felicity, is born, is made and unmade by external agencies which as yet are out of human control. Health also, like felicity, is made and unmade by numerous influences which are under human control. Health resembles felicity also in that it depends on the good working of the animal or organic systems of life. I could, if this were the occasion, enter here into one of the most absorbing of questions touching the connection existing between the lower and the higher human nature. I could indicate how the lower and higher nervous centers, charged during life with a subtle, ethereal medium, communicate with each other and with the outer universe, and how on the conditions of this refined intercommunicating bond or sphere both health and felicity are moved by external pressures, by external vibrations, by external agents taken into the living system, and by products generated within the organism and diffused through its nervous atmosphere. But I leave this inviting subject for a more immediately practical one.

Over those atmospherical causes of felicity which have been noticed we can exercise, as yet, no direct action. At the same time, just as we can divert the lightning from its fatal course, we can indirectly effect good. It is unpardonable folly to erect human habitations in dank and humid spots, below the sea level, or in dry and arid spots where the labor to obtain the necessaries of life doubles their cost. In Africa, at this moment, the seed of new life that is being sown will largely be seed of felicity or

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sorrow, according to the selection of the sites on which the new and great centers of life are constructed. Nay, in this direction, man may divert the operations of nature herself. He may change the courses of nature as he cuts down her forests or plants new forests, or alters the lines of rivers or makes new lines, or fills up valleys or lowers or raises mountains, or connects or disconnects oceans. With the mastery of the surface of the planet in his power, man may, in fact, make what regions he pleases for good or for evil. The earth is the freehold of the sons of men.

If the natural air which man makes not and invented not may, under correct teaching, be to a large extent utilized for felicity, how much more easy is it to remove the unnatural conditions of the air which we ourselves make, so that fullest advantage of what is provided for good may be taken. We shut up our young in closest rooms of close towns; we shut up our men and women by the millions in close shops and factories; some one million of us in Great Britain who call ourselves, with ignorant irony, the ruling classes, shut up some twenty-five millions of the people, with their wives and children, in walled-up atmospheres, where atmospheric purity is unknown; where cold and heat oppress; where food is what can be got; where drink is what can supply a false felicity for a certain sorrow; where marriage reëstablishes misery; where good sleep is impossible; where physical strength is so impaired that a perfect body is not to be found; where exhaustion from work is the daily cross; where things and objects of beauty are rare as angels' visits; where, in the selfish race to barely live, generosity is impossible; where, in compressed homes, purity of life is a problem the purest can hardly solve; where variety is replaced by the dead monotony of unchanging sounds for the ear to hear, unchanging scenes for the eye to see; where fear dominates over courage; where hope has no chance; where prosperity is so little known that the worn-out life has no expectation this side the grave; and where death is so busy that three die to one in more favored communities. We, one million, I repeat, shut up our twenty-five millions under these conditions, and wonder why those millions know nothing of felicity; why they are peevish, reckless, melancholy — sometimes drunken, sometimes rebellious, and ready to run after any leader who shall promise to lead them into some happier sphere,

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however little removed from that in which they are. Wonder! The wonder is how human nature can bear such a famine of felicity and live as if it only lived to die.

The sanitarian should, I think, begin to study the psychological side of progress—what human nature can and cannot bear; how much pressure can safely be put on humanity without danger of explosion; how much felicity can be secured by removing danger; what effect food exercises over the peace of man and men; what effect clothing, diminished work, and innocent recreation exercise; what agents drive men mad, and how such agents should be removed or replaced; what habitations do for the human species for good or evil. These are all sanitary questions, and they all bear on felicity.

It has been shown that some exceptional men are born of a happy disposition, and it might have been shown, on the clearest evidence, that multitudes are born of an unhappy, nay, miserable disposition. Sanitary science can discover which are the lines of heredity for the happy and for the unhappy disposition. We could, with this discovery in our hand, impress on the people, with certainty of being listened to and attended to, that marriages ought neither to be matters of chance nor matters of mere monetary convenience, nor indeed matters of mere insane so-called love; but that the marriage tie, extending its influence into the future, should be no bond and seal of diseased heredities, but the bond and seal of a healthier and happier racial progress in every succeeding generation.

BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON.

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EVILS OF THE SUB-TREASURY SYSTEM.

FIFTY years ago the mention of government deposits would probably have thrown every household into heated controversy; but to-day it is doubtful whether many persons, outside of those who have dealings with the banks, even know where or how the surplus balances of the United States are kept. And yet this question is of more financial importance now than ever before.

The first United States Bank was used as a depository, but in 1816, in the second United States Bank charter, the first legislation was enacted making this institution a depository. Before that time, and after 1833, when Jackson removed the public funds, the various State banks were also used. The crisis of 1814, as well as that of 1837, brought ruin to the State banks and consequent loss to the Treasury as their chief depositor. How the question got into politics in Jackson's day is a matter of history known to all. Finally, a divorce of banks and state was effected in 1840, but repealed in 1841; then in the years when public attention was drawn to Texas and the Mexican war, the Independent Treasury act was reënacted, in 1846, and has since remained in force.* The system, as created in 1846, has been since but slightly modified, and then not until the exigencies of the first war loan, in 1861, brought about a change by which deposits could again be placed in certain State banks. It will be remembered that only institutions chartered

* Act August 6, 1846. Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 (and subsequent acts) established as the Treasury the rooms in the new Treasury building at Washington and the rooms and vaults in various places of deposit. Sec. 6: "That the Treasurer of the United States . . and all public officers of whatsoever character be and they are hereby required to keep safely, without loaning, using, depositing in banks, . . all the public money collected by them . . till the same is ordered . . to be transferred or paid out." Sections 18 and 19 provided that after January 1, 1847, all sums due to, or disbursed by, the United States should be paid in gold or silver coin, or treasury notes.

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under the various State laws, and so known as "State banks," existed from 1837 to 1864. The commercial depression which followed Lincoln's election and the secession of the Southern States left business in an unsettled condition and obliged the banks to use every means to retain specie in their reserves. The first loan act of July, 1861, proposed the sale of long bonds, running for twenty years (the "sixes of 1881"); but the public were not in a position to take them rapidly, and sales were unfortunately slow. Very patriotically, the banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia subscribed for $150,000,000 of these bonds, provided the Treasury would not require coin of them. If, under the terms of the act of 1846, they must make payment in gold or silver, it would be impossible to take the bonds; consequently, it was arranged so that the coin which the banks would otherwise pay for the bonds should be left by the Government with the banks in the shape of deposits,* in the expectation that the public would absorb the bonds offered for sale and that proceeds from these sales would come in as fast as the Government would probably draw on its coin deposits. This was the explanation of the change in the Sub-Treasury system made in 1861.

Only one other change took place, and that consequent on the organization of the national banks in 1864; but it indicates a very considerable departure from the policy of 1846, which demanded a total separation of the Treasury from the banks. In fact, the establishment of the national banking system, by which the Government authorizes and oversees the issues of notes, stands forth in marked contrast with the legislation of 1846, by which the Treasury was withdrawn entirely from any connection with the banks or the money market. The act of June 3, 1864, put it within the power of the Secretary of the Treasury to designate certain of the national banks as depositaries of public funds. But this law, in force to-day, makes a curious distinction between different kinds of Government moneys: it forbids that "receipts from customs" should go into

* Act August 5, 1861: Sec. 6.—"And be it further enacted, that the provisions of the act . . passed August six, eighteen hundred and forty-six, be and the same are hereby suspended, so far as to allow the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit any of the moneys obtained on any of the loans now authorized by law, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, in such solvent specie-paying banks as he may select." . .

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any national bank depositary; but, at the same time, permits these institutions to receive from collectors any other dues to the United States, such as internal revenues, and after giving proper security hold them on deposit.* As if one kind of state money was good and could be trusted away from home, and another kind was bad and could not.

Such being, in brief, the history of this part of our fiscal system, when it is proposed to study its operations within the last few years, some very striking evidences of growth are to be found. In the days when the debt was insignificant, and the operations of the Treasury comparatively small, the withdrawal of Government funds from the money market produced no difficulties; but, with the extension of fiscal movements from small sums to hundreds of millions, the present policy of the Government, taken in connection with modern banking methods, becomes one of vast practical importance.

The chief objection to the independent treasury system of to-day is that it has been outgrown by the country; that it is economically wasteful in proportion to the magnitude of its dealings; and that, by its effects on the reserves of the banks, it is becoming dangerous to the banking and business public. In order to show this, it will be necessary to explain, as briefly as possible, some of the operations which go on in the banks. A might be a borrower at a bank. The resources-side of the account shows an increase of loans by the amount of the securities received to secure the loans; but if checks on the bank are more convenient, and are received by every one to whom he makes payment, what need has A of actual money for his loan? He is, therefore, at once credited with a deposit to the amount of his loan, or, in fact, borrows the right to draw a check on a deposit placed to his credit. Then the disposition

* SEC. 45. "*And be it further enacted, that all associations under this act*, when designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositaries of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary. . . . And the Secretary of the Treasury shall require of the associations thus designated satisfactory security, by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise, for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with them. . . . Provided, that every association which shall be selected . . . shall take and receive at par all of the national currency bills, by whatever association issued, which have been paid in to the Government for internal revenue or for loans or stocks."

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to draw actual cash depends on considerations which do not affect our inquiry, such as the soundness of the institution, or a general disturbance of credit. It will be seen, then, that in nearly exact proportion to the use of checks and deposits in a community will there be a close relation between loans and deposits. To make it absolutely clear that in great financial centers this system of checks is really in use, the following figures are taken from national bank receipts in the United States on one given day, June 30, 1881:

Location.	*No. of Banks.*	*Total Receipts.*	*Proportions of*			
			Gold Coin.	*Silver Coin.*	*Paper Currency.*	*Checks, Drafts, etc.*
			%	%	%	%
New York City.....	48	167,437,759	0.27	0.01	1.02	98.70
Other Reserve cities..	187	77,100,715	0.76	0.15	4.71	94.38
Country banks.....	1731	40,175,542	2.04	0.77	15.47	81.72
United States.....	1966	284,714,016	0.65	0.16	4.06	95.13

This shows that ninety-five per cent. of all transactions with the national banks of the United States are effected without the use of actual cash. To this extraordinary extent have credit devices succeeded in bringing us to a civilized method of barter, by which goods are actually exchanged against each other without the transfer of money.* In country districts, however, this is less true. Still, this highly sensitive mechanism is the product of the last few decades, and is wholly the outgrowth of modern credit and business. The increase between 1871 and 1881 is very striking, as seen in the operations of the national banks:

	1871.	1881.
Capital.....	$458,000,000	$464,000,000
Deposits.....	631,000,000	1,083,000,000
Circulation.....	317,000,000	320,000,000

While "capital" and "circulation" remained very nearly stationary, credit liabilities, or "deposits," increased about seventy per cent. and saved the actual use of money to that amount.

* The same truths are illustrated by returns on a given day from London and provincial banks in England.

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The connection of this with the Treasury will soon be evident. Recall (1) that an increase of loans increases deposits, or demand liabilities, and (2) that the means by which demand liabilities are met consists of the cash reserve. Yet, in the mere act of making a loan, nothing has taken place which increases the cash reserve. Moreover, the ability to loan depends on the relation of the cash reserve to the immediate liabilities, that is, practically, to the deposits.

Anything, therefore, which changes the amount of the cash reserve vitally affects the loaning power of all the banks. But it so happens that the national banks are obliged by law to keep either coin or legal tender notes in their reserves; therefore, our inquiry need only follow the movements of coin or greenbacks. At a given time, the amount of cash in the community is a definite quantity, and the conditions of business and exchange determine how much is to be left in the banks. When trade is going on regularly, it has, *ipso facto*, reached a settlement of those relations in accordance with commercial needs. After the adjustment has been made, if there is a greater demand for loans than the banks of one city can supply, the higher rate of interest there attracts deposits from other places or, *mutatis mutandis*, from other countries. Whenever gold is drawn from New York to London, the banks are touched at a vital point. Certain business houses wish to pay gold to persons in London, and so draw on their deposit accounts in the banks for the amount of the intended shipment, thereby lessening the cash reserves to the same amount but in a far greater proportion,—since a given sum is a larger percentage of the smaller of two quantities. Then, if the banks cannot replenish their stock, eventually they must do one very hazardous thing—a resource tried only in a last extremity—refuse to loan. But that means commercial distress in every branch of business, a rich crop of failures, and the old story of a panic. This, as explained, is what happens when gold goes abroad. But this also is what happens when gold is withdrawn from the banks in any other way. Suddenly carry the gold to London; sink it in the sea; or hide it from sight in the vaults of an independent treasury, and the effects on business will be precisely the same. Here, then, is the sin of the Sub-Treasury system against the business interests of the country. To begin with, the revenues of the United States are coming in faster than they can be

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applied to the expenses of the Government and the payment of the national debt. The tariff is still practically on a war basis, and is giving us war revenues in times of peace. The customs show, consequently, the greatest increase, and, in fact, within the last four years they have nearly doubled.* Then it is also to be remembered that, during the war and the depreciation of government paper, because the country had agreed to pay the interest (and, later, the principal) of its debt in coin, it was found necessary to secure a regular supply of specie. So it was required by law that no other money than coin should be received for duties on imported goods. Consequently, as the amount of these duties increases, there will always be an increased demand from importing houses for specie with which to pay the Treasury. But this coin is got in the same way as when shipments are made to Europe: these houses draw on their deposits for the money and take it from the reserves of the banks. Then the captive specie mournfully descends into the dark vaults of the Government sub-treasuries. There is no difference, except in the incident of destination, between this operation and sending it over the ocean. This wrong, as mentioned before, is accomplished by the act of June 3, 1864, which forbids the deposit in the designated banks of any sums which are received in payment of customs. The measure was adopted when greenbacks were below par, and consequently has no justification in the present changed conditions of the currency.

But why does the coin not come out of the Treasury, after it goes in? The Secretary can pay out funds only on appropriations of Congress for certain purposes, such as for pensions, for interest on the public debt, or for the principal of such obligations as have matured. In case the expenditures were met in exact proportion to the incoming flow of specie, the funds would go back to the banks. But from the very nature of Treasury payments this cannot be true. In calling in matured bonds it is necessary to give three months' notice before interest ceases,

* Sums are given in millions and tenths of millions.

Year.	*Dutiable Mdse. Imported.*	*Customs Received.*	*Internal Revenue.*	*Reduction of Debt.*
1879.....	$296.7	$137.2	$113.9	6.8
1880.....	419.5	186.5	124.5	65.8
1881.....	448.0	198.1	135.8	100.0
1882.....	514.0	220.4	146.5	166.2

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so that the Secretary is obliged to forecast with precision three months ahead, and be certain that his surplus is sufficient for the call. Hence, even if the called bonds all came in when interest ceased, the specie must remain for a considerable time out of reach in the Government vaults. But, in point of fact, it is found that a considerable proportion of the bonds are not sent in when called and, therefore, specie to the full amount of the call cannot be sent forth. Payments for interest, or pensions, moreover, are at still longer intervals than those for matured bonds. But every day and week coin is withdrawn from reserves by importers to be turned over to the Government for customs duties, while the gates of the Treasury are only opened at considerable intervals. The bad effects are felt daily; the relief comes, perhaps, monthly or at longer periods. To show with what rapid and very exasperating jerks the system has worked, a table and a chart have been prepared which illustrate the actual operations for the last six months of 1882:

1882. *Week ending*	*Specie withdrawn by Sub-Treasury.*		*Specie let out by Sub-Treasury.*
July 1	$3,500,000	.....	.....
" 8	.....	.....	$10,900,000
" 15	.....	.....	300,000
" 22	900,000	.....	.....
" 29	2,500,000	.....	.....
August 5	.....	.....	3,100,000
" 12	.....	.....	2,300,000
" 19	2,000,000	.....	.....
" 26	1,800,000	.....	.....
Sept. 2	3,700,000	.....	.....
" 9	.....	.....	1,400,000
" 16	.....	.....	1,800,000
" 23	1,400,000	.....	.....
" 30	.....	.....	30,000
October 7	.....	.....	300,000
" 14	4,800,000	.....	.....
" 21	.....	.....	1,900,000
" 28	1,500,000	.....	.....
Nov. 4	200,000	.....	.....
" 11	700,000	.....	.....
" 18	.....	.....	3,000,000
" 25	.....	.....	2,400,000
Dec. 2	.....	.....	3,000,000
" 9	.....	.....	2,000,000
" 16	.....	.....	5,800,000
" 23	.....	.....	2,100,000

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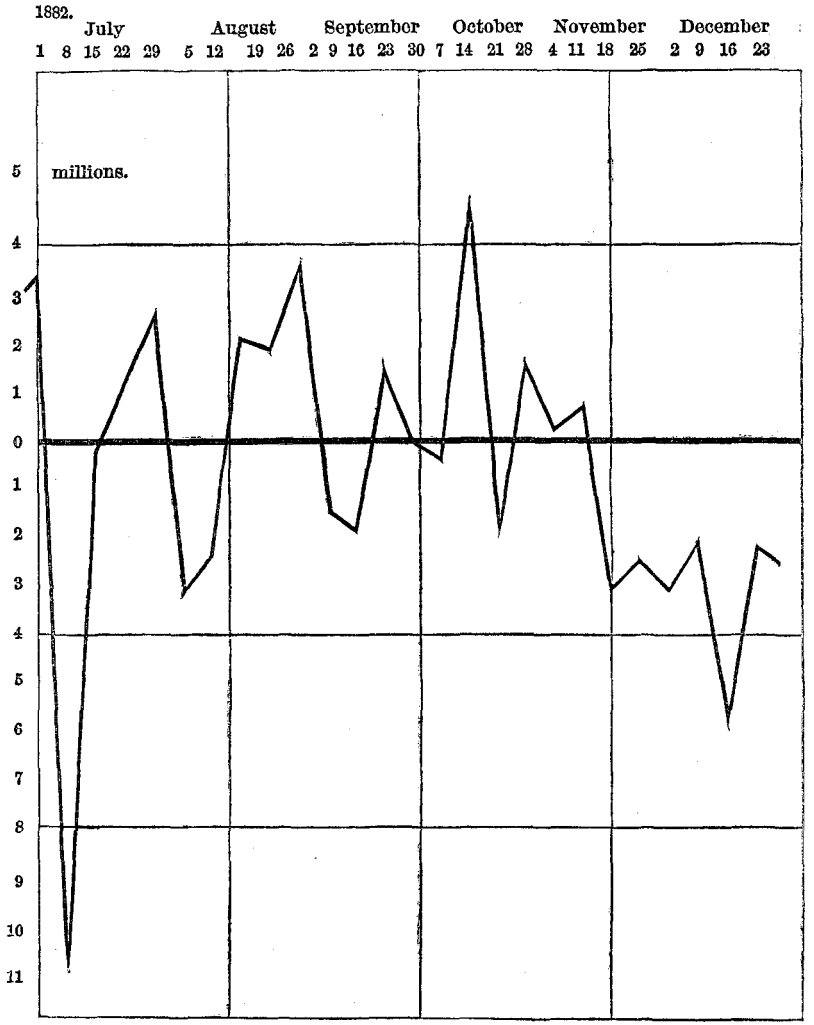

The movement of the line above 0 shows the flow of specie from the reserves of the banks into the Treasury and, below 0, the flow out of the Treasury back to the banks.

Moreover, since the return of specie from the Treasury is awaited with anxiety, all things depend on the intentions of the Secretary. The extent to which the finance minister of this country holds it in his power to ruin or extend credit is already a dangerous thing to contemplate. He is master of the monetary

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situation. The irregular jerkings of the Treasury movements add fuel to speculation. If much specie has gone into the Treasury, speculators can withdraw more, and "squeeze the market." It is, therefore, possible for the Secretary to affect the money market, and thereby the fortunes of men, throughout the whole country. It is a power which ought never to be given to any man; and yet it is the highest evidence of the integrity and character of this official that he has never been suspected of such action, and that this argument against the present system is, of all, the least important.

The administration of our Treasury balances has great and serious defects. At present, it acts like a highway robber who shuts his fingers tightly around a man's throat until breathing is cut off, and then lets go until the victim has recovered sufficiently to give the ruffian the pleasure of repeating the process. He would be a very mild-tempered man, indeed, who simply arose and went on his way, remarking that such treatment is occasionally very inconvenient. The nature of the evil, however, does not seem to be clearly understood, for we are told that a reason for reducing taxation is the difficulty under which the Treasury labors of releasing its surplus funds. By this theory, the matter is to be settled, not by studying an improved system of fiscal administration, but by avoiding the issue through a removal of the special and temporary cause of the difficulty. This is not high statesmanship, but it is the position of our present Secretary of the Treasury in his report of December, 1882 (p. xxviii). After discussing the question, he says: "For these reasons I would not seek a release of the Treasury from this complication, in these modes [*i. e.*, by depositing in banks]. The radical cure for the evil is in the reduction of taxation. . . . The evil comes from the likelihood of the Government holding from time to time a large surplus to be poured out in volume at uncertain and unforeseen times, and at times often inopportune for the business of the country. There could not be that surplus . . if the subjects of taxation were lessened."

The principle of this policy is exactly that of an employer who, once finding a clerk in the act of stealing money from his safe, good-naturedly refused to discharge him; but adopted the ingenious plan of reducing the extent of his business in order that no surplus might be left in his safe as a temptation to a poor fellow who was a trifle weak in his character. Common sense would suggest that this temporary expedient for freeing

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the thief from temptation was dearly bought at the expense of reducing the volume of the employer's transactions, especially when he was heavily in debt and wanted to clear himself from this burden in a prosperous season. Surely this reasoning of the Secretary is most extraordinary. Taxation is supposed to be levied in proportion to the expenditures of the state, and not raised or lowered on account of the difficulties in fiscal administration by which the money is received or paid out.

The present Sub-Treasury system, moreover, is bad for another reason, founded wholly on fact. In May and June, 1881, about six hundred millions of five per cent. and six per cent. bonds fell due, and were extended at three and one-half per cent., on condition that they might be paid off whenever the revenues gave a surplus. And they have been rapidly paid; indeed, it is owing to the possibility of paying them off that the Secretary has been able to let out specie from his vaults in such amounts as have greatly lessened the evils of the present system. The ordinary payments for interest alone would have released but a fraction of the stream of specie daily flowing into the "bourne" from which no traveling specie ever easily returns. Had no payments been made for bonds, there would have been an increased pressure put upon the bank reserves. It would have been like a continued stoppage of the breath; strangulation would have taken place in the financial organism; and if no help had come from abroad, or elsewhere, we should soon have had a body without breath, a financial corpse, *i. e.*, a panic. But, if this would have happened had there been no bonds to be paid off in these last months, it is exactly what will happen in the near future, unless some change is made. If our present surplus continues, it is estimated that by June, 1886, all the bonds redeemable at the pleasure of the Government will have been paid. Then what? No other bonds, unfortunately, become due until 1891; so that in less than three years we ought not, forsooth, to have a surplus from revenues, because the specie will be withdrawn from business. In two or three years, then, the Sub-Treasury system will be as troublesome as ever, even if taxation is reduced. Or, to return to our illustration, the dishonest clerk will begin to filch again, if he is retained in his position.

Thus, as fully as the limits of this paper would permit, the history of the present system, its workings, and the evils attaching to it have been given, and it may well be asked now what

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remedy is proposed? It is easy to destroy, not so easy to construct. In taking up this part of the question, it must be asked, first, what has financial experience in other countries to teach us? France keeps her balances in the Bank of France, and rather aims to correct than to interfere with the money market. England has no treasury, but collects and disburses all her funds through the Bank of England, without taking one shilling from the borrowing public. We have, it is true, no Bank of France or Bank of England, but we have in the national bank system the best the country ever enjoyed. By the act of 1864,* they are made possible depositaries, and are now used as such for that part of the Government revenues which is collected by internal taxation. The machinery for a reform, therefore, is already in existence, and suggested by the act of 1864. Yet the question of a remedy is to be settled, as in the case of a disease, by the explanation of the evils. It is not generally realized that, like the Bank of England, the Clearing House Association of New York is the center and pivot of the banking system of the country. The country and city banks keep a large part of their reserves in the New York banks, and, as every banker knows, this fact makes the latter the heart of the whole system; and naturally, too, for New York is the place where the largest exchanges of goods take place and where credits and loans are most demanded. To the condition of the reserves in the banks of New York every one now, as a fact, looks when it is desirable to mark the effect of shipments of specie abroad, or of withdrawals by the Treasury. Consequently, these banks must be parties to any arrangement by which the evils of such withdrawals may be avoided. It is the reserves of the New York banks which must be protected from sudden drains. They are, therefore, by the very facts of trade and banking in this country, marked out as the proper agents of the Government in the proposed fiscal reform. But, say objectors, the security of the Government funds becomes involved in that of these banks, and, in case of a commercial crisis, the Treasury would be unable to get at its funds and could not meet its daily demands. That this happened in the years after the panic of 1837–9, before the passage of the Sub-Treasury act, is true. Therefore, let the Government, if it should deposit with these banks, exact a security,—and for the present it would be

* *Vide* note, page 554.

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best to have this in the shape of its own obligations or bonds. It does this already in regard to internal revenue. And then there is nothing to prevent the Government from keeping a little sum in its own vaults as provision against a rainy day. But its own bonds would furnish an absolute security, because, in this case, they are the very obligations for the payment of which the surplus funds are collected by taxation and deposited in the banks.

There is actually no reason in using the fear of a panic against a system of deposit with the banks. As a matter of fact, it is proposed to set apart a special part of the bank resources as a pledge for the payment of that one liability known as "Government deposits." But this is exactly what has been done in the case of issues by the national banks, and it need hardly be asked whether one cent has ever been lost by holding a note of these institutions in the crisis of 1873. No one ever did lose; and there is less reason that the Government should ever lose by the proposed plan. But would the banks take these deposits? Yes, readily, and even pay one or two per cent. interest, a sum which would be a clear gain to the Government, because as long as the specie remains in its own vaults it returns absolutely nothing. The holding of Government balances is, as every banker knows, a most valuable privilege,—simply because, under the modern system of credit, banks derive their chief income from the ability to loan the money left with them on deposit. In the case of funds intrusted to them by private persons, they are enabled, as experience shows, to loan perhaps two-thirds, and yet have in the remaining one-third a reserve sufficient to meet daily demands from these depositors; but in the case of Government deposits, not only are the amounts large, but bankers can know, through the publicity given to Treasury operations, exactly when sums fall due and how long the money is to be left with them. Consequently, the element of uncertainty existing in regard to private deposits is reduced to a minimum, and a larger proportion of public deposits can be loaned. But the argument for the change ought not to be based on the small profit either to the banks or to the Government, but on the necessities arising from the condition of modern trade, and the connection of the Treasury operations with the money market. Even if it cost the Government something, it would yet be desirable.

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It is true that, if a security of United States bonds is adopted, the plan cannot be any more permanent than the system by which national bank issues are secured. But the suggestion affects the Sub-Treasury operations differently from the way in which it affects the issues of national banks. When the United States bonds are paid off and disappear, other securities must be devised for the note issues, or the national banks must cease to exist; but in the case of security for deposits of Government funds, when our bonds are paid, there will be no reason for the existence of Government deposits to any extent, since there ought to be no surplus to deposit. The Federal Government has no right to collect more than it expends just for the fun of it, or for the silly purpose of dividing it among the States.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

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THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

PART I.

THE way of man is mechanical; the way of God is spiritual. The way of man is to stand outside and do things; the way of God is to brood within and make things do themselves. To them of old time was revealed a great truth which science could not discover, which to-day she sadly admits is beyond her ken: that man has a divine origin and an immortal nature. But the human record of that revelation is infantine in its simplicity. God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. That is the way a man would make man!

To the oldest world, for the consolation and succor of all the generations, came the assurance of final justice. Persecution, malice, misery reign in the life that now is. Justice is not secured, is at most only clutched at. But this life is merely a short stage. In the life to come, truth shall prevail and every man shall receive according to his works. In the strength of this promise, humanity has been able to support its accumulated woe.

But the men to whom this sufficient assurance was intrusted could not receive it without picturing in their imagination how it should be accomplished, could not imagine how it should be accomplished except in the human way Man's way of securing justice is through visible machinery—lawyers, judge, audience, sheriff, scaffold. Immediately, the primeval man wraps his god-given idea in man-made garb, and the heavens pass away with a great noise, the elements melt with fervent heat, and the Lord Jesus appears in the skies with mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on the evil-doer. Thus would man conduct a world to justice.

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But to this human way rise instantly human objections. What tribunal of eternity could confront the infinite trivialities of time? This would be to make eternal justice an eternal bore. All the court-room machinery is man's inevitable but clumsy device. The assizes of God are silent. His judgments execute themselves.

> "His thunderbolts have eyes to see
> Their way home to the mark."

There is no set time, no appointed place. His handwriting is on every wall. His day of judgment dawns with each sunrise; sometimes we see it, sometimes we are blind. For every man, his day of judgment comes when his vision is cleared to behold himself in the divine light. As we are social beings, to society must come also at some period his vindication or his inculpation.

Never has the divine method of administering justice been more signally illustrated than in the story of Thomas Carlyle. He began life and closed it with a remarkable absorption in himself. So powerful was his self-love that it embraced his family and conferred dignity and worth upon all who were of his blood; while most persons not akin to himself he despised and rejected. He believed his opinions so important as not only to warrant but demand for their promulgation a sacrifice of the amenities and obligations of life outside of his family circle. He fought a long and bitter fight, and he conquered. The world at first ignored him, then ridiculed him, finally yielded and took him at his own valuation. Long before his death he was the "Sage of Chelsea," and a prophet with great honor in his own country.

But God is the only public opinion. The day of judgment came; came to Carlyle before he had gone from the world; came to the world while yet his name was at its brightest. There was no court, no arena, no array of criminal or scenic display before men and angels. All through his life, unknown to himself, without sound of trumpet or scratch of pen or intent of heart, his history was writing itself, his condemnation was silently keeping pace with his sin. By his side moved always a slight figure, the figure of a woman whom he loved, despised, trampled upon, lamented with unavailing tears: a woman who loved him, revered him, immolated herself to him, recorded him. Nothing was further from her thought than to judge him; but through

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her he is judged. The heart that held him highest brought him lowest.

Many have sought to break his fall — in vain. We may quarrel with Froude, but the question is not now Froude's day of judgment; it is Carlyle's. It is not a mere literary judgment that is to be passed. Carlyle is a prophet of life. He was a teacher of men. He believed himself Divinely commissioned. He proclaimed the gospel of common things. He enunciated principles for human practice. He launched invectives against stranger and friend for ignorance of what he knew, for indifference to what he preached. We have a right to judge him by his works. A singular, an appalling fate has given us such an opportunity to judge as the centuries seldom offer. We know the Carlyles as we know few of our neighbors. A ray of light has cloven their house in twain, and the world beholds a philosopher reviling his generation with his lips and despoiling his home with his life; nursing his own genius with unsparing vigor, repressing his wife's genius with unrelenting rigor. Regarding the movement of such a mind as Carlyle's, no incident is trivial. Few greater themes can engage human attention than the development of so extraordinary a nature. No floating moat in the sunbeam is too minute when the central figure is Carlyle's.

For our purposes, his story begins with a dainty, dancing child, sprung from a gentle family, of bright intelligence and sterling principle; growing to win all hearts, alert with the noblest ambition, instinct with the finest character. To this daughter of the gods came a son of the gods, superb and splendid. That he was worthy of her, he showed by his unflinching resolve to do without her. Yet how pitiful, how sordid was the barrier between them; how stupid the society that erected it! By the very simplicity and unconsciousness of his great nature, Edward Irving fell an easy prey to a vulgar family. When his sleeping heart thrilled with waking life under the penetrating brilliance of Jeannie Welsh, and all his being moved irresistibly to her, he suddenly found himself enmeshed in a wearisome but fatal entanglement which claimed to be an "engagement," which neither dared he break, nor did his true love permit him to break, since the miserable woman who had ensnared him held him. It is sixty years ago, and the heartache of it is as heavy and hopeless to-day as on the sad morning when he turned away from what seemed

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to him paradise, because his love was in it, to die of his broken heart. Alas! that there was no one to speak with authority to these two young, loving, bewildered souls, and declare that there is no valid engagement but marriage. An "engagement" is made but to be sundered. Its very purpose is to be broken if need appear. An "engagement" is but a trial trip before setting out on the unreturning voyage. So far from being binding, it should yield to a word, to a wish, to a misgiving. Marriage alone is insoluble; and by as much as morality and religion, delicacy and decency, the stability and the dignity of human society declare that marriage should be insoluble, by so much should every arrangement that precedes marriage be as slight and soluble as the most timorous heart could demand.

No one could speak better than Jane Welsh herself spoke, but too late:

> "A positive engagement to marry a certain person at a certain time I have always considered the most ridiculous thing on earth. It is either altogether useless or altogether miserable. If the parties continue faithfully attached to each other, it is a mere ceremony. If otherwise, it becomes a fetter, riveting them to wretchedness, and only to be broken with disgrace."

But the fetter was assumed which riveted two to wretchedness. Obedient to the coarse, commercial standard of his day and place, Edward Irving turned aside from the holy inward law of love, and perjured himself to a woman base enough to demand marriage in fulfillment of a contract. How deplorable the result, let his sad history tell. A man may heroically obey a false law, may tread with saintly feet the wrong path, but the true law is inexorable; the wrong path leads astray. Nature avenges herself. All their nobility, heroism, self-sacrifice did not avail to rescue two brilliant beings from the doom to which they condemned themselves by their sacrifice of the higher spiritual law to the lower contract law. When they stifled the divine illumination under the pall of conventionality, their day of judgment rose and rolled to the bitter end for both. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: in the day that thou eatest the forbidden fruit, thou shalt surely die.

While the maiden's heart was sore and sad for her lost love, and empty of hope, another man stood by her, strong if sardonic, somewhat surly and savage, yet responsive to her mood and subdued to her charms. His resplendent intellect

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won her homage, his marked individuality piqued her somewhat flagging interest in life. He was intimately associated with the one man of all her many suitors whom she had loved; had, indeed, been brought to her by that man. She did not dream of marrying him. The idea, when it came, was promptly and decidedly, alas! not decisively, repelled. She admired the mind so much that she finally, in homage to it, accepted the man. She saw that he was misanthropic, impractical, incredibly snarling and cynical. But she thought she could mellow him with her sunshine, and that it would be a result worthy of her life. She did not know that the darkness rayed out from his own nature. She thought him great, which he was; generous, which he was not. She felt herself superior to him in birth and breeding, as she was. She felt him superior to herself in intelligence, which he was not. She believed him possessed of "all the qualities I deem essential in my husband —a warm, true heart to love me, a towering intellect to command me, and a spirit of fire to be the guiding-star of my life." She was not in love with him, but she believed she should love him. To the emptiness of her life a great work seemed to offer itself,—to foster a rare genius, to prepare the way of the Lord.

It was not an ignoble aim; and it rescues her good fame. In the light of their subsequent life, the story of their strange courtship is acutely painful. He was candid, but she could not understand. He did not try to deceive her. He did not deceive her more than he deceived himself. She was in her early twenties, with no experience of life but through the rosy mists of love. How could she know the coldness, the coarseness and crookedness, the hardness and blindness of the peasant nature in which that brilliant intellect was imbedded? She was all air and fire, yet with a firm touch upon the earth. There was fire in his heart, too; but it smoldered beneath the nether millstone, which only cracked and crumbled to the frosts of death. She took her measures wisely, poor, groping soul. She visited his family. They were of the rudest, while her own home had always been elegant, and her immediate family even distinguished. Indeed, so superior to his were her surroundings, that he says on his first visit: "I felt as one walking transiently in upper spheres, where I had little right even to make transit." She bore herself like an angel, and with her exquisite tact won the hearts of the little cottage, as she won hearts everywhere.

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His father, mother, brothers, sisters she gathered into her sympathy, and paid to their sterling virtue the respect which soul should pay to soul.

And Carlyle himself bore well the test. As son and brother he was perfect. From his life's beginning to his life's close, nothing of affection or consideration or patience or help or sympathy was wanting to the simple and honorable family who loved him so loyally. Fractious, sneering, unjust to the rest of the world, he saw and magnified all the good in his own family and excused all the defect; with pen and purse, with advice and consolation, with tokens of remembrance when absent, and talk and companionship when present, with unstinted praise for their well-doing and the gentlest chiding and tenderest allowance for their short-coming, he was never weary of cherishing his kin. Indeed, the heaviest proof against him in his day of judgment is his illimitable righteousness, his divine patience toward them. With what judgment shall he be judged, who showed so clear an instinct regarding the family in which he was born, so stupid a brutality to the family which he made?

Worst of all, out of his own mouth he is condemned. He cannot plead ignorance or blindness. He saw clearly and spoke wisely. He espoused truth with a loud voice and called heaven and earth to witness. If he had practiced his own precepts, his wife would have been the happiest of women; his home the light of the world. He preached an unalterable conviction that justice and truth form the only base on which successful conduct, either private or public, can be safely rested—and immediately based his whole married life on injustice and a forsworn promise. He told his friend that literature was the wine and not the food of life; that household and social duties and enjoyments were indispensable to its symmetrical development. How could this delicately reared girl foresee that he would toss them all aside? "Your mind and my own have in them many capabilities," he said; "but the first of all their duties is to provide for their own regulation and contentment." Could this petted child of adoring parents surmise that his idea of "regulation" was to sacrifice every other contentment to his own will and whim? "At times, I confess," he admits, "when I hear you speak of your gay cousins, and contrast, with their brilliant equipments, my own simple exterior and scanty prospects and humble but to me most dear and honorable-

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minded kinsmen, whom I were the veriest dog if I cease to love and venerate and cherish for their true affection and the rugged sterling worth of their character,—when I think of all this, I could almost counsel you to cast me utterly away, and to connect yourself with one whose friends and station are more analogous to your own. But anon, in some moment of self-love, I say proudly there is a spirit in me which is worthy of this maiden, which shall be worthy of her. I will teach her, I will guide her, I will make her happy."

Could she discard him after this so lofty and touching appeal? Could she dream that his way of teaching her would be surlily to forbid her to correct her friend's proof because "you do not know bad grammar when you see it any better than she does, and if you had any faculty you might find better employment for it"; that his mode of guiding her would be to force her to degrade two days over the relining of his beastly, worn-out man's-boots; that he would make her happy by calling out for her pet dog, who was far more solace to her than his master, "Has that vermin come home yet?"

"Let us try," he said, "if by neglecting what is not important and striving with faithful and inseparable hearts after what is, we cannot rise above the miserable obstructions that beset us into regions of serene dignity, living as becomes us in the sight of God and all reasonable men, happier than millions of our brethren, and each acknowledging with fervent gratitude that to the other he and she owed all?"

Could a girl of four-and-twenty happy summers, blooming in the sunshine of parental love, by any possibility foresee that this man who proposed to lead her upward into regions of serene dignity by striving only for what was important, would make such a caterwauling over his food that every dinner threw her into a panic, though, after his grumbling had tormented her to death, he could declare, "for grace, salubrity, and ingenuity, I have never seen such human dinners"; that by way of neglecting what was important this lofty intellect would whip out his pocket-handkerchief and ostentatiously dust the furniture, though in the light of the eternity which had snatched her from him, he was forced to declare that no such house as hers—"for beautiful thrift, quiet, spontaneous, nay, as it were, unconscious minimum of money reconciled to human comfort and human dignity—have I anywhere looked upon."

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This man, who was to lead the woman to strive only for what was important, grew "ever more and more difficult to feed, and more and more impatient of the imperfections of human cooks and housewives. He was most especially aggravating under a change" of housemaids. It is not much that he speaks of them as "that horse," "that cow," "that moon-calf," which, as Mrs. Carlyle protested, was often an injustice to them. It was no wrong that each new-comer had to be taught how to cook Mr. C.'s things, "Mr. C.'s sort of soup, Mr. C.'s sort of puddings, cutlets, etc." This any wife should be glad to do for any tolerable husband, who did not even pretend to compass her serenity. What is unpardonable is that the eater of Mr. C.'s soup should have forced the teacher of Mr. C.'s soup-maker to go down three pairs of stairs into the kitchen. A man who is able to own three pairs of stairs can never be pardoned for setting his wife at the top, to run over them every time she speaks to her cook, while himself absorbs the convenient floors between.

"Need I remind your warm and generous heart that the love which will not make sacrifices to its object is no proper love? Alas, without deep sacrifices on both sides, the possibilities of our union is an empty dream. To me, I confess, the union with such a spirit as yours might be is worth all price but the sacrifice of those very principles which would enable one to deserve and enjoy it."

How could she infer that through a long life Carlyle would steadfastly refuse to sacrifice anything to her? Whenever he was hurt, he howled. Just so far as he could, he interposed his wife's person between himself and the hard knuckles of fate. The blows fell on her with unremitting severity and he never winced. Indeed, the hardest of them were dealt by himself. He, who found language too poor to portray the virtues of his own mother, criticised her mother with a brutal frankness to which no mentioned trait of her in all these volumes lends necessity. As she appears even through his captious lens, she was graceful, vivacious, tender, wise,—worthy mother of her daughter. But "what," said Carlyle, coarsely, "is this caprice and sullenness in your mother but unhappiness in herself — an effort to increase her own scanty stock of satisfaction at your expense; or rather, to shift a portion of her own sufferings upon you?" And this was said of a mother whose whole life was a long hymn

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of love to her daughter, and said because she could not approve and, in all persuasive ways, opposed the marriage of that daughter to a man whose steady habit for forty years proved to be the shifting of his sufferings upon his wife!

Not content with maligning her to her daughter, he allowed his insensibility to becloud his veracity, and implicated her relations with her dead husband, whom he never knew, and of which he had not the shadow of a right to speak. With the same child-like bluntness he writes to his wife: "The Chancellor is a very particularly ignoble-looking man — a face not unlike your Uncle Robert's." It was not malice apparently, but an absolute lack of sensitiveness toward his wife. Toward his father's family he was as full of tact and tenderness as the most loving heart could ask. They were a part of himself.

It has been Carlyle's great pretense and great praise that he hated shams, but no greater sham than he ever resounded through the world. The only palliation is that he was a sham to himself. He thought he was content with his peasant birth; and in reality his lowly origin was ever before him. He was a noble snob, but he was a snob of snobs. He honored his father and mother, but with a verbal and voluble honor which told how deep and abiding was his sense of their lowliness. Again and again he declared that, if he could have his choice of a mother out of the whole world, he would choose his own. But that ought to go without saying. He would not exchange his own for any ten mothers. Who would? He would not exchange his father for any king known to him. Proof? He proclaimed himself content to be unmoneyed, unpraised; to go gladly without the world's breath or the world's pudding, but never a man sucked harder for the one or stirred harder for the other, or roared louder at not being able to get them.

Mr. Froude shares Carlyle's deception. He admits his irritability, violence, selfishness; but signalizes his sacrifice of everything to his high mission. If honor was to come to him, says Mr. Froude, it must come unsought. On the contrary, he sacrificed nothing. He took all he could get, and was wroth with the friends who would not give him more. He sought honors just as other men seek them, and emoluments in ways that most men with a man's blood in their hearts would scorn. He took active steps to be appointed professor in the London University. He exerted himself to the utmost to be made successor of Doctor

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Chalmers in the St. Andrew's University; and in a gush of gratitude at Jeffrey's attempts to help him, calls him the dear little duke—"the most sparkling, pleasant little fellow I ever saw in my life." But when Jeffrey refused to recommend him for an appointment: "Our relation is done, all but the outward shell of it." When he learned that a new astronomy professorship was to be established in Edinburgh, he hastened to seek it, and never forgave Jeffrey for not furthering him, although Jeffrey told him, in the highest style of civil service reform, that the appointment was entirely out of his own sphere; that the candidate would be appointed on his own merits; that no testimonial would be looked at, except from persons of weight in that branch of science, like Herschel and Babbage, without the least regard to unprofessional advisers. But Carlyle resented his failure to obtain this position with as much force and fervor as if he had been a machine politician, instead of a lofty and lordly philosopher, surveying with undisguised scorn the "entirely shallow, barren, unfruitful, and trivial," the "putrid, scandalous, decadent, hypocritical" society around him.

Froude himself, admitting that it is difficult to see by what reasons any conceivable body of men would have, at that time, been justified in preferring Carlyle, still professes doubt of Jeffrey's sincerity in pretending to fear that Carlyle could not handle delicate instruments without injuring them; but the most delicate instrument that can be intrusted to human hands, Jeffrey had seen Carlyle entreat with a roughness that was destruction. This he had vainly tried to rescue from his ruthlessness. It was but a slight revenge to keep the other from him; but he may well have taken an inward joy in the withholding.

"No man will give me money for my work," complains Carlyle. "If they pay me rightly, they shall have a paper or two; if not, not. Letter from Mill about a Radical review, in which my coöperation is requested; shall be ready to give it, if they have any payment to offer." This is not ignoble. But it is not noble. It is the same trait in Carlyle that it is in Tom, Dick, and Harry, who will never be mentioned as martyrs and never think of themselves as heroes. His own distinction was the correct one. He wrote to express his opinions. He published for money. For this he deserves neither credit nor discredit, any more than the singer or the shoemaker who lives by his calling.

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Carlyle was willing, was greedy, to accept luxury on terms which a man should disdain. When Mrs. Welsh, unable to prevent her daughter's ill-omened marriage, and almost equally unable to live without her only child, besought Carlyle to occupy her house, he refused, unfeelingly, contemptuously. Two households could not go on together, he said. He must be master of his own house. But he was not in the least proposing to be master of his own house. He was not proposing to have a house. He was proposing to take his wife out of her luxurious home to his father's peasant cabin, and would have done it, had not his father, wiser than himself, forbidden; though, after his wife's death, he calmly recollects that even his visits to his mother, once a year, were "unpleasantly chaotic" and "comprised for both of us (his wife and himself), in respect to outward physical hardship, an amount larger than all the other items of our then life put together." Two households could go on together, it seems, if both were under his harrow. But when Mrs. Welsh, finding her loneliness intolerable, left her home, Carlyle could hardly be kept away. He would not live in it with her, but he saw no indecency in turning her out of it and living there himself.

After his wife was dead, Carlyle could find no peace except in writing to the world that her bright, ever-cheering presence in his home was literally the only cheering element there was. But the world has merely a secondary interest in his opinion. To one it was the life of life. Yet to that one he could so bear himself as to extort from her bright and laughter-loving soul the pathetic cry, "to see you constantly discontented and as much so with me, apparently, as with all other things, when I have neither the strength and spirits to bear up against your discontent, nor the obtuseness to be indifferent to it—that has done me more harm than you have the least notion of. You have not the least notion what a killing thought it is to have put into one's heart, gnawing there day and night, that one ought to be dead, since one can no longer make the same exertions as formerly; that one was taken 'for better,' not by any means 'for worse'; and, in fact, that the only feasible and dignified thing that remains for one to do is to just die, and be done with it."

Can art devise a more pathetic picture than poor Carlyle sitting in his darkened house, alone in the terrible awakening of

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his Day of Judgment, reading these letters by the new revealing light, and smiting his breast before all the world with his useless "Alas! alas! sinner that I am!"

The Craigenputtoch episode is the type of the life and the character of these two human and inhuman beings. Craigenputtoch belonged to Jenny Welsh. Carlyle, with his marvelous willingness to profit by Mrs. Welsh's wealth, cast his longing eyes upon it. Jenny Welsh assured him he could not exist there a twelvemonth, and that for her part she could not spend a month there with an angel. But eighteen months after their marriage he took her thither, and there she spent seven years with as strong a possession of the devil as is often found in humanity. I speak not unadvisedly. Froude, his admirer and intimate friend, says that "if matters were well with himself, it never occurred to him that they could be going ill with any one else; and, on the other hand, if he was uncomfortable, he required every one to be uncomfortable along with him." This is the incarnation of selfishness, which is devil enough for this world.

Jeffrey remonstrated. He was in despair that the lovely, delicate woman should be snatched from the cheerful and distinguished society which she attracted in London, to be devoured by her dragon in the sour solitudes of Scotland. Nothing had changed. She was not less gay and social. Carlyle was not less contemptuous and dyspeptic. But to the Craig he would go, and then the thing happened which Jeannie Welsh had predicted —disgust. Aleck found the farm ruinous, and went away after four years' trial; but Carlyle had not been there four months before it became to him "this Devil's Den." His wife lost her health and her spirits, but that he never knew. "Jane is far heartier, now that she has got to work," says the unregenerate and indescribable peasant; but Froude, impartial as fate, says, "A mistake on Carlyle's part. Mrs. Carlyle had not strength for household work; she did it, but it permanently broke down her health."

"Jane is in a weakly state still," writes to John Carlyle this ogre, whose ogreness is sometimes fairly comical in its unconsciousness. "Her life beside me, constantly writing here, is but a dull one; however, she seems to desire no other. . . . I tell her many times there is much for her to do, if she were trained to it; her whole sex to deliver from the bondage of frivolity, dollhood, and imbecility, into the freedom of valor and womanhood."

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A pertinent suggestion to make to a woman who was wearing her life out on a desolate hill-top, milking the cows, and scouring the floors of a man who seldom spoke to her and left not a soul for her to speak to within fifteen miles.

But when the solitude begins to pall upon himself, he grows more appreciative. He even becomes a little softened and subdued by the appalling failure of the Craig plan, which he had pursued with such headlong stubbornness. His letters to his wife, when seeking to find some path away from his Hill Difficulty, are tender and appealing. Jeffrey was thoroughly angry with him for his willfulness and selfishness, and he turned to Jeannie with desperate need, though with grotesque comfort: "Let us not, dear Jeannie, complain of solitude. I have still you, with really a priceless talent for silence!" The one thing which Jeannie loved was good, exciting talk.

"Yes, Jeannie, though I have brought you into rough, rugged conditions, I feel that I have saved you. As Gigmaness you could not have lived; as woman and wife you need but to see your duties in order to do them." Welcome words from a man who saw his duties with preternatural clearness, only to kick them instantly, violently, vociferously out of his path.

"Do thou help me, my little woman; thou art worthy of that destiny." Is it any wonder that Jeffrey lashed the overweening self-conceit which appointed its owner the elect of Heaven and reckoned any menial service done to himself as an errand of the Almighty.

But presently Carlyle began to discover that "a little talk were wholesome for *me!*" "But it is not to be had," he sighs, "and one can do without it. My Janekin, if not a great speaker, is the best of listeners." And a very good reason for it Froude gives—that Carlyle was intolerable when he was contradicted. Janekin was wise to let him have the talk to himself, though she, too, was a brilliant talker.

Very soon, even this modified resignation broke out into open rebellion.

"I must to Edinburgh in winter; the solitude here, generally very irksome, is threatening to get injurious, to get intolerable.

"Craigenputtoch cannot forever be my place of abode; it is at present and actually one of the worst abodes for me in the whole wide world.

"The time for returning to Puttoch will too soon be here. I have not abated in my dislike for that residence, in my conviction that it is no longer good for me. Of solitude I have really had enough."

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But poor Jeannie had long been desperately sick and disheartened without attracting the smallest help from Carlyle. As fast as the solitude became irksome his views of duty became clear.

"Quarrel not with deliberate feeling that this wilderness is no wholesome abode for me; that it is my duty to strive, with all industry, energy, and cheerful determination, to change it for one less solitary."

Presently, duty was merged into desperation.

"Nothing but the wretchedest, forsaken, discontented existence here, where almost your whole energy is spent in keeping yourself from flying out into exasperation. Why not bolt out of all these sooty despicabilities and lying draggle-tails of byre-women and peat-moss and isolation and confusion and go at once to London? Yes, we must try it. Life here is but a kind of life in death, or rather one might say, a not being born; one sits as in the belly of some Trojan horse, weather-screened, but pining, inactive, neck and heels crushed together. Let us burst it in the name of God!"

He had forgotten that when he was—is it too colloquial? it is certainly not too strong, and it certainly is Carlylesque, to say—hell-bent on going to the Craig. He had written, persuading his wife:

"Oh! Jeannie, how happy shall we be in this Craig o' Putta. We shall sit under our bramble and our saugh-tree, and none to make us afraid; and my little wife will be there forever beside me, and I shall be well and blessed, and the 'latter end of that man will be better than the beginning.'"

And so this great genius, after seven years of failure and exasperation and the ruin of his wife's health and spirits, had labored along to the same conclusion at which his wife, with all the frivolity, dollhood, and imbecility of her sex, had arrived in one moment. But he had had his way. He had carried out his great governing principle, his "eternal axiom, the law of nature, which no mortal departs from unpunished—that the man should bear rule in the house, and not the woman." If he could have seen himself as he was, he would have seen this native sovereign, man, descending the Craig of Putta in a much more draggle-tail suit than the byre-women from whom he fled.

It seems incredible, yet signs are not wanting that Carlyle was unconsciously jealous of the superior social position of his wife, and was resolved to reduce her to the level of his mother and sisters. He made her bake and sweep and scrub, like any

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byre-woman of them all, till he could announce that "Jane is almost stronger in anti-fine-ladyism than myself"; but when a fine lady who was not his wife came by and beckoned to him, he left wife and work to follow her without betraying the smallest symptom of "anti-fine-ladyism."

When Jeffrey had tried to lighten the poor wife's burden by securing a place for John Carlyle with a fine Lady Clare, Carlyle was pleased to write:

"I must also esteem it no small felicity you naturally have: that of associating with a thoroughly courteous, society-cultivated woman. No higher piece of art is there in the world. The weak, lovely one will be loved, honored, and protected. Is not, in truth, a noble woman (noblewoman or not) worth reverencing?"

Just such a piece of high art, just such a weak, lovely one, just such a courteous and society-cultivated woman was associated with Thomas Carlyle, and he had loved, honored, protected, and reverenced her with his old boots, with his acrid ails, with his violent words and vicious temper and long neglect, till heart and hope died out of her. "Of course, I am sad at times, at all times sad as death, but that I am used to, and don't mind."

Did he give no heed to the words? Did no wonder haunt him as to the process which had rendered the radiant, high-hearted girl "at all times sad as death"? He gives no sign. He had degraded a bright spirit to base uses, and he did not know it. She recognized while accepting her fate. "You may be better without me," she wrote him, "so far as my company goes. I make myself no illusions on that head; my company, I know, is generally worse than none; and you cannot suffer more from the fact than I do from the consciousness of it. God knows how gladly I would be sweet-tempered and cheerful-hearted for your single sake, if my temper were not soured and my heart saddened beyond my own power to mend them." Could a man with a heart in his bosom fail to give some tender, re-assuring words to such a pitiful appeal? Carlyle did so fail.

"The comfort," she writes in her next letter, "is the greatest part of the grievance for my irrational mind. I am not consoled but aggravated by reflecting that, in point of fact, you will prefer finding 'perfect solitude' in your own house, and that if I were to do as nature prompts me to do, and start off home by the next train, I should take more from your comfort on one side

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than I should add to it on another." And he did not contradict her!

His intense selfishness Mrs. Carlyle, in true wifely fashion, tried to generalize, and so ward off from him individual condemnation. "Mr. Carlyle, being a man, cannot understand to exact the least bit less attendance, when we are reduced to one servant again, than he had accustomed himself to exact from the two. So I have all the valeting, and needle-womaning, and running up and down to the study for books, etc., to do myself." But it was not his gender that made him use his wife for a beast of burden. It was his own specific and gigantic selfishness.

To his genius chiefly his wife was, by good fortune, able to lay his appalling sins. Her beast was a lion, king of beasts, and by that token she was able to bear and upbear his beastliness. She mentions his enormous domestic crimes with a frankness which could not otherwise have existed. Her pride recounts what any other pride would have hidden. "When one has married a man of genius, one must take the consequences," was her prevailing plea. "My man of genius," was her constant characterization. But Carlyle himself had set up another standard wherewithal he should be judged in his Day of Judgment. "What is genius," he had written to Miss Welsh, "but the last perfection of true manhood—the pure reflection of a spirit in union with itself, discharging all common duties with more than common excellence?" Let us set our minds and habitudes in order, and grow under the peaceful sunshine of nature, that whatever fruit or flowers have been misplanted in our spirits may ripen wholesomely and be distributed in due season. And in pursuance of this principle he had neglected every common duty, had defied every common obligation, had imposed them all upon his wife, had stamped down every flower and fruit of her gentle nature, and demanded of her the service and forced upon her the position of a household drudge.

It is idle to plead that Mrs. Carlyle was too like her husband; that she irritated him with domestic details; that she was overjealous, capricious, hysterical, petty. They understand neither the human heart nor the English language, who say it. It is not a question of opinion, but of fact. The records of her life disprove the charge. She was strong, discerning, positive, effective, as well as poetic and affectionate. In her head was thought, in her eyes was sight, in her mind was judgment, from her lips

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flashed wit. All her ways were winsome. She was a beauty and a belle. Was it not of her that Leigh Hunt wrote?

"Jenny kissed me when we met,
Jumping from the chair she sat in;
Time, you thief, who love to get
Sweets into your list, put that in.
Say I'm weary, say I'm sad,
Say that health and wealth have missed me;
Say I'm lonely, dull, but add
Jenny kissed me."

Poets do not write such verses of a mere drudge. Tennyson would not come from afar to have a long, quiet chat with a dull woman; although it is in exact accordance with the way of the world that Carlyle's big brutish brother should roll in from his kitchen pipe to babble, and another friendly bore should maunder in the parlor, and the two together stay out Tennyson, while the two who wanted to see each other and nobody else "got scarcely any speech" together. Darwin frequented her house, drove her about with mock submission, admired her achievements with the needle and satirized her husband's indifference to it. Brewster and De Quincey and Sir William Hamilton frequented her, won by the peculiar personal grace which was her inalienable charm. Mazzini confided in her. Cavaignac ate her hash and claimed her for a French woman. Jeffrey was fascinated. Few passages in the life of men have more vital interest than the ardent friendship of Lord Jeffrey for Mrs. Carlyle, and never a man appeared in a more amiable and honorable light. He admired her intelligence; he yielded to her womanliness; he was appalled, enraged by her situation. The passion of a lover, the compassion of a father, met in the affection which at once delighted and embittered him. It is not to Carlyle's credit that he never shows the slightest uneasiness at Jeffrey's attitude toward his wife. It was not the nobility of trust but the stolidity of indifference. His own insensibility regarding her was attended by an utter insensibility to the feelings of other men regarding her. He seems to have had no curiosity, even, about her inward life. Her relation with Edward Irving made no more impression upon him than the ogling of a turtle-dove. Most men would have raved at Jeffrey's interference, but Carlyle did not heed it. Jeffrey's bearing and course show forever how blameless and pure may be the friendship of a

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high-minded man for a high-minded woman. Never was there the smallest occasion for vulgar jealousy; but if Carlyle had been a man, instead of a stone, he would have died of despair at seeing how differently from a stone a man bears himself toward a woman. Being a stone, he never saw that Jeffrey was a man. The man resented with keen but impotent bitterness Carlyle's insensibility to the jewel he wore in his breast. He implored Carlyle to be good to his wife! "Take care," he wrote, "of the fair creature who has trusted herself so entirely to you,—whose great heart and willing martyrdom will make the sacrifice more agonizing in the end." A dull resentment does seem to have awakened sluggishly in Carlyle's mind toward Jeffrey, but it was rather because Jeffrey did not sufficiently advance his fortunes than because Jeffrey loved his wife. Nothing can exceed the patience and delicacy with which Jeffrey strove to assist Carlyle—even with money, when all else failed. It was noble in Carlyle to refuse Jeffrey's money, but he did not refuse it nobly. Jeffrey never appeared better or Carlyle worse than in this transaction. There is no mistake. We have the written words of both, which show Jeffrey therein to be of heaven and Carlyle earthborn. Carlyle came to look upon Jeffrey with scant respect; but Jeffrey was indisputably, so far as appears in these books, the greater man. Carlyle complained that Jeffrey intellectually considered the great business of a man to be happy. But this was a better theory than Carlyle's, who considered the great business of a man to be miserable. Jeffrey never took half the pains to be happy that Carlyle took to be wretched. Jeffrey never sacrificed to innocent pleasure a tithe of what Carlyle sacrificed to wicked, because needless, pain. Carlyle consoled and cajoled himself with thinking that "Jeffrey dwells in the glitter of saloon chandeliers, walking in the vain show of parliamenteering and gigmanity, which, also, he feels to be vain; we, in the whirlwind and wild-piping battle of fate, which, nevertheless, by God's grace, we feel to be not vain and a show, but true and a reality." But the whirlwind and the piping were Carlyle's own breath, which he mistook for the voice of God, who, as of old, was not in the whirlwind, the earthquake, and the fire,—which Carlyle was forever stirring up,—but in the still, small voice of Jeffrey's gentle sympathy and succor. And when Carlyle had tooted himself out of breath on the top of Craigenputtoch, he was as eager to come down into the glitter of saloon chandeliers

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as fashion's giddiest devotee. Even while he complained, he knew that his complaint was groundless. "I have heard Jeffrey say," he continues, "'If folly were the happiest, I would be a fool.' Yet his daily life belies this doctrine, and says, 'Though goodness were the most wretched, I would be good.'" It is an exact type of the two men. Carlyle himself, when laying down principles for other men's guidance, admits it by crying out against "the everlasting clatter about virtue! virtue! In the devil's name, be virtuous, and no more about it!" But, practically, his virtue was all clatter. While he was vociferating his own superiority to the clownish herd, Jeffrey was silently practicing, and thereby proving, his own superiority to Carlyle. Carlyle clanged to the astonished heavens the dominant claims of the nearest duty, while his home resounded with the tramp of his iron heel upon all duty whatever. Jeffrey professed only a somewhat passive acceptance of things as he found them, but lavished his talents and his time, his patience and his genius upon the effort to make them better. Carlyle left his wife to fight alone the Amalekites, and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, while he stood on Pisgah and shrieked so shrilly about the promised land that one would choose to go back to Egypt rather than advance under such ululation. Jeffrey took the forlorn and deserted pilgrim by the hand and led her tenderly toward the green pastures and the still waters which he discerned as clearly as Carlyle, and to which he far better knew the way. If life is more than meat, and the body than raiment; if to be is better than to talk; if it is higher work to sculpture a symmetrical soul than to write a sensational book,—then Jeffrey is the greater man; and the woman whom such men so loved was a great woman.

GAIL HAMILTON.

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OVERPRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH this is hardly a time of abnormal business depression, a great part of the industrial energies of the country are unemployed because of what is commonly called overproduction. We hear so much, and from so many quarters, of this overproduction that it is no wonder that there are many who hold, more or less definitely, that the great improvements in machinery and industrial processes have brought "dull times"; that the difficulty so many find in making a living is due to the increased capacity given to labor by discovery and invention, which have so reduced work that there is not now enough of it to go around, and that, to secure a more equitable division of the precious thing, we should limit the amount of work any one is permitted to do.

Ideas which thus reverse the principles we instinctively recognize in the every-day affairs of life are by no means confined to what are considered the less intelligent classes. They permeate the press, crop out in all discussions, and are carried into effect in legislation. No more than the housewife wants grease spilled over her kitchen floor, that she may have the work of cleaning it up, does any one want work for the sake of work. What they want is the things that work produces. Yet we maintain a tariff having for its express purpose the preventing of other nations from robbing us of work, and trunks are searched and mail matter opened lest any one should escape the penalty of bringing into the country the product of work done abroad. And so while workingmen protest against production by convict labor, manufacturers see no better remedy for dullness of trade than curtailing production.

If there really be such a thing as general overproduction, if we are really suffering from a plethora of wealth, then the remedy lies in the destruction of wealth. This is a *reductio ad absur-*

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dum. But the fact cannot be disputed that the period of the Civil War, when the greatest destruction of wealth this country ever saw was going on, was a time of great business prosperity and industrial activity. Nor can this be explained upon any theory that we were then borrowing of the future. To borrow of the future is a physical impossibility. By no process of financial juggling can any one eat to-day the egg that is to be laid to-morrow. The ships that were sunk, the houses that were burned, the shot and powder fired away, and the immense amounts of other wealth unproductively consumed or wantonly destroyed were not future ships, houses, powder, and shot, but existing products of labor. Nor did we even borrow from abroad. As a people, we owed less to foreign nations at the end than at the beginning of the war.

Is there, then, such a thing as overproduction? Manifestly, there cannot be, in any general sense, until more wealth is produced than is wanted. In any unqualified sense, overproduction is preposterous, when everywhere the struggle to get wealth is so intense; when so many must worry and strain to get a living, and there is actual want among large classes. The manner in which the strain of the war was borne shows how great are the forces of production which, in normal times, go to waste; proves that what we suffer from now is not overproduction, but underproduction.

Relative overproduction there, of course, may be. The desires for different forms of wealth vary in intensity and in sequence, and are related one with another. I may want both a pair of shoes and a dozen pocket-handkerchiefs, but my desire for the shoes is first and strongest; and upon the terms on which I can get the shoes may in large measure depend my ability to get the handkerchiefs. So, in the aggregate demand for the different forms of wealth, there is a similar relation. And as, under the division of labor characteristic of the modern industrial system, nearly all production is carried on with the view, not of consumption by the immediate producers, but of exchange for other productions, certain commodities may be produced so far in excess of their proper proportion to the production of other commodities, that the whole quantity produced cannot be exchanged for enough of those other commodities to give the usual returns to the capital and labor engaged in bringing them to market. This disproportionate production of some

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things, which is overproduction in relation to the production of other things, is the only kind of overproduction that can take place on any considerable scale, and the overproduction of which we hear so much is evidently of this character.

But what is the cause of this relative overproduction? That is the important question. Does it spring, as some of the socialists seem to think, from the lack of intelligent direction in production, which requires for its remedy governmental supervision of industry? Is it due to any removable cause, or must we, as the penalty for having called steam and machinery to the aid of human muscles, accept conditions in which men suffer from want while warehouses are glutted?

To answer these questions let us examine the phenomena more closely. What is relative overproduction when viewed from one side is evidently relative underproduction when viewed from the other. And what we call overproduction as to any particular commodity or commodities may proceed from increased production of things of one kind or from decreased production of things of other kinds. Thus the original impulse which produces relative overproduction may be one stimulative of production or one restrictive of production. But, while the phenomena of relative overproduction may thus arise from causes opposite in essential character, it is only within a limited field and to a limited extent that causes so different in their nature can produce similar results. This we may see if we note the different general effects which follow increase or diminution of production in any special branch of industry. Let us suppose, for instance, that there is, from some discovery or improvement, an increase in the production of coal, out of proportion to the increase of other productions. More coal thus being brought to market than can be sold at previous rates, the price falls. The result is, that all the consumers of coal who so desire can increase their consumption of coal, and those who do not wish more coal can increase their consumption of other things, while, in all branches of industry where coal is used, the cheapening of coal reduces cost and stimulates production. Thus the general effects of the increase in the production of coal, as they become diffused over the whole field of industry, are to increase all other production, and to reëstablish an equilibrium between the production of coal and the production of other things on a basis of increased production.

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But suppose some cause, natural or artificial, to check the production of coal so that it falls below the previous proportion to other production. Its price rises, and the consumers of coal must use less coal or less of something else. Miners, transporters, etc., of coal find themselves out of employment, and their power of purchasing commodities cut off or diminished. At the same time, the enhanced price of coal makes production more costly in all branches of industry which make use of coal, and thus the general effects of the diminution in the production of coal are to reduce all other production, and the restoration of equilibrium, when it again takes place, will be on a basis of diminished production. Thus we see that the general effect of increase of production in any particular branch of industry is to increase production in all branches, while the general effect of decrease of production in any particular branch of industry is to generally decrease production.

Or to put it in another way: Trade being the exchange of commodities for commodities, in which money is but the common measure of values and instrument of transfer, supply of commodities of one kind is demand for commodities of other kinds. Whatever, therefore, causes the bringing to market of an increased amount of commodities, at once increases the supply of those commodities and the demand for other commodities, thus increasing the volume of trade and generally increasing production. Whatever, on the other hand, diminishes the amount of commodities brought to market, at once decreases supply and diminishes demand, lessening the volume of trade and decreasing general production.

This we see very plainly in relation to those branches of production in which the varying character of the seasons causes marked alterations. Good crops mean increased demand of all kinds, active trade, and general prosperity, although it may be that to many farmers, or perhaps to farmers in general, the immediate benefit of unusually large crops is neutralized by the lower prices consequent on relative overproduction. And reversely, although to many farmers, and perhaps to farmers in general, the immediate effect of a poor crop may be compensated for in higher prices, yet poor crops mean to the community at large decreased demand of all kinds, dull trade, and hard times.

It is thus apparent that, while relative overproduction of any commodity or group of commodities may arise either from

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increase in the production of these commodities or from decrease in the production of other commodities, yet there are differences in the general results springing from these two differing causes which will enable us to infer from which of the two any particular disturbance of the equilibrium proceeds. If the nature of the primary cause be to increase production, its secondary or diffused effects must be to stimulate production generally, to augment the volume and increase the briskness of trade; and whatever be the disturbance in the branch or branches of production in which the impulse is first felt, it will soon pass away as the stimulating impulse communicates itself to other branches. But when the nature of the primary cause is to check production, the impulse persists in the checking of other production, and its general effects are to diminish demand and cause dullness in trade, the disturbance which it first causes tending to perpetuate itself in wider circles, causing a dislocation in the interlaced machinery of production and exchange, which is finally reduced only at the cost of deprivation and suffering

To illustrate, let us suppose discoveries or inventions which so increase productive power in certain branches of industry that, even with the increased demand which follows reduced price, not so many hands are needed in those employments as before. But the same cause which thus displaces labor in certain employments operates, in the way before pointed out, to create a greater demand for labor in other employments and thus to facilitate redistribution without loss or suffering. Suppose, however, a check to production, which operates to a like extent in lessening the demand for labor in the same branches of industry. The cause which thus displaces labor in these departments operates, in this case, to reduce the demand for labor in other departments, making it harder instead of easier for the labor displaced in one occupation to find employment in others. Displacement thus tends to further displacement, and waste and suffering are extended and protracted.

Looking at the phenomena which present themselves to-day in the dullness of trade, the forced idleness of laborers, and the curtailment of production in so many branches of industry, and which in times of marked industrial depression present themselves in aggravated form, there can be no difficulty in deciding to which class of primary causes they are due. They are not due to causes primarily operating to increase production,

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even if to increase it disproportionately, but to causes which primarily operate to check production. It is not true, as the New York "Herald" says, in cutting down the margin of the news-dealers, that the country is producing too much—an assertion that in one form or another is echoed generally by the press. What is true is that the country is producing too little. Reductions in wages and in profits, the fall of interest, dullness of trade, the involuntary idleness of men who would gladly be at work, are not the symptoms of too great a production of wealth; they are the symptoms of restriction upon the production of wealth.

Nor have we far to look to recognize restrictions upon the production of wealth sufficient to account for all these phenomena—restrictions which prevent that interaction of demand and supply which, under conditions of freedom, will determine the proportion that all branches of production should bear to one another with infinitely greater promptness and exactness than could any human intellect. In the first place, almost all our taxes, either purposely or incidentally, restrict production. Taxes upon the exchange of commodities are as much taxes upon the production of commodities as taxes directly levied upon production. We maintain an enormous tariff upon imports for the express purpose of hampering and restricting the exchange of commodities—a tariff which extorts from the producers of the country a greater revenue to the Government than even the profligacy which it has engendered can find excuse to spend; which in addition extorts from producers a probably still greater sum for the benefit of favored individuals and corporations, whose lobbyists almost mob Congress when any proposition for the reduction of taxation is made; and which still further causes waste and loss that probably exceed both what goes to the Government and what goes to the favored interests. Our national internal revenue taxation is, moreover, not merely for the most part a direct tax upon production,—for, whatever may be said against the use of whisky and tobacco, their production, from the economic stand-point, is as truly the production of wealth as is the production of bread and cheese,—but it is a taxation which creates monopolies.

Nor have we even internal free trade, although, thanks to the constitution, the political power is prohibited from interfering with it. But we have suffered the corporations to whom we

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have left the control of the great highways over which our internal commerce must pass, to assume the taxing power. They are not only suffered to practically charge their own prices for transportation, but they are permitted to impose what are virtually differential duties. They not only charge more for carrying goods a shorter distance than for a longer distance, but make discriminations not founded upon bulk, weight, or risk, which have the same effect as protective duties, drawbacks, and bounties.*

To all these checks and impediments to production,—these barriers which prevent that free interaction of supply and demand which would automatically preserve the proper proportion between the various forms of production,—we must add in the account much of the taxation levied by our States, counties, and municipalities. How local taxation operates to check production, we may see from the marked stimulus that has in some of the States been given to certain forms of production by the promise of exemption from taxation for a term of years. But it is hardly necessary to point to these, since it is self-evident that the taxation of wealth must tend to reduce the production of wealth. To tax savings is clearly to lessen the incentive to save; to tax buildings, to lessen the incentive to build; to tax the improved farm on its improvements is to lessen the reward of the farmer's toil and to discourage improvements. In fact, our State and local taxes are in large part as stupid as our national taxes. Even one too careless or too dull to see through the fallacies of protection must see that to tax wealth is to lessen it, and to tax improvements is to check improvement. When dogs are too many, we impose a dog tax. To lessen the number of liquor saloons, we impose a tax upon liquor saloons; and in the same way taxes upon buildings, or goods, or ships, or railroads, or any other desirable form of wealth must operate. Thus in many ways, directly and indirectly, purposely and incidentally, is production hampered and checked. But after we have considered all this, a still greater and more important check to production remains.

* "When such duties [turnpike tolls] are imposed not according to bulk or weight, but according to the supposed value of the goods, they become properly a sort of inland customs or excise which obstructs very much the most important of all branches of commerce, the interior commerce of the country."—*Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Book V., Chap. II.*

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What is production? In all its forms, it is, in the last analysis, the exertion of labor upon land. Therefore, the value of land—the price that labor must pay to obtain the use of land—operates as a constant bar to production. We are accustomed to regard increase in land values as the evidence of general prosperity. So it is, after a fashion, just as the greatness of the burden piled upon a mule's back is evidence of his strength. But those who get their living by their labor have as much reason to congratulate themselves upon the advance of land values as the pack-mule has to congratulate himself on the increase of his load. The increase of land values means that labor must pay more for the use of land; that of the aggregate production a larger share must go to those who do nothing to aid production; for though the individual land-owner may be also a laborer or a capitalist, or both, yet no land-owner, as a land-owner, contributes in any way to production. He is a mere burden and parasite—a dead weight that production is forced to carry, because of his appropriation of the natural factor of production.

To see how the value of land—and especially that speculative value that is an anticipation of what labor in the future may be forced to pay—bars and checks production, whoever reads this may see if he will look around him. Wherever men have begun to settle and land to acquire value, there the repressive effect upon the production of wealth is visible. To illustrate by an example. In New York, the pressure of population is so great that no one, unless he be rich, dreams of having a house to himself. The vast majority of the people live, family above family, in one, two, or three rooms, most of them wanting in light, in ventilation, and in facilities for cleanliness and decency. Tenement-houses, fifteen stories high, are now being put up, and the newer dwellings cover ninety feet of one-hundred-foot lots. Yet on Manhattan Island there are over fifty-eight thousand absolutely vacant lots; and, to say nothing of Brooklyn, over one-half of the land within the corporate limits of New York is unbuilt upon. Why does not the great demand for houses cover all these vacant lots in a single season with buildings? It would, were there not a barrier to the production of houses that rises with the demand. That barrier is the high price of land. Before the man who wishes to build a house can get a lot on which to build he must pay from $5000 to $75,000, or agree to pay an equivalent ground-rent; and when

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he gets his house built, he will be fined with a tax upon it for having thus added to the wealth and conveniences of the city. And so goats and rubbish occupy vacant lots, while human beings are crowded into tenement-houses under conditions that produce physical disease and moral deterioration.

What may be seen in New York may be seen in degree in every city in the land; and through the country, population will be found to be scattered and emigrants toiling past vacant or half-used acres, impelled by the same cause. Wherever population is likely to come, wherever labor will soon seek for land, there does the dog-in-the-manger plant himself, to prevent production until he gets his legalized black-mail, and in many cases refusing what black-mail he could now get, in the hope of greater black-mail in the future. Here is the great check to production, which, gathering force with every season of half-way prosperity, so restricts production as to disturb the symmetry and coördination of industry, and, propagating itself in lessened demand, produces these phenomena so generally attributed to "overproduction."

It must be manifest, indeed, to any one who will think a moment, that phenomena so wide-spread and persistent must come mainly from barriers which prevent labor from applying itself to land. The occupations which most largely and directly make use of land are the primitive and fundamental occupations. All other occupations rise out of and rest upon these. The manufacturer and merchant presuppose the farmer. A community could not exist in which all men were tailors, printers, jewelers, or machinists. Starvation would ensue. But communities in which all men are farmers may exist. That is to say, in all the secondary and derivative occupations, production depends upon production in other occupations, but in the primary occupations which directly obtain wealth from nature there is no such limitation. In these, men can directly supply their primary wants, and increased production in these increases the demand for production in secondary occupations which minister to secondary wants. Thus, when land is free to the laborer, whatever relative overproduction may occur can only be trivial and temporary, the possibility of indefinite expansion in the primary occupations sufficing to take up the displaced labor and restore equilibrium. Chronic dullness of trade, protracted industrial depression, is only possible when this recourse is prevented.

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What, and what alone, is needed to secure the proper proportion of the different forms of production, the health and symmetry of the industrial organism, is freedom. Idle labor, wasting capital, the glut of markets, the co-existence of poverty and of unused wealth are the results of restrictions which prevent the free circulation of productive forces. The remedy is in the removal of restrictions. This may be accomplished in a simple way.

Taxation upon the production, exchange, or accumulation of wealth checks production; but taxation which falls upon land values reduces a barrier to production. Therefore, to give productive forces freedom, all we have to do is to concentrate our taxation upon land values.

And in thus making land free to the laborer, in thus removing the restrictions which now hamper the interaction of supply and demand, we should so simplify our governmental machinery, so remove corrupting influences from our politics that we might, without fear of jumping from frying-pan to fire, include in the province of public administration such properly public functions as the working of telegraphs and railroads.

HENRY GEORGE.

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NATIONAL DEFENSE.

THIS subject has received the attention of the ablest official minds in the United States—civil, military, and naval. The general principles of the national defense have never been questioned by the men whose duty it has been to make the subject their study. There have been disagreements in matters of detail, and of the two branches of the service each has, at times, been led by zeal to place too much stress upon the importance of its own duties. But consultation and discussion among those members of the army and navy who have in view the single object of doing that which is best for the country's defense have always brought about the best results; and I venture the assertion that there is but one opinion to-day among those who have thought seriously on the subject as to the proper method of defending the United States against foreign attack.

During the War of Independence the sea-coast defenses which existed at its commencement were but little improved. The evacuation of Boston by the British was hastened by the erection of entrenchments on Dorchester Heights. The forts in the harbor were afterward occupied by our troops, and Boston was not again molested during the war. Charleston was successfully defended against the attack of a British squadron. The ships-of-war built by order of Congress and privateers inflicted great injury on British commerce between 1775 and 1783, and descents were even made on the coasts of England and Scotland by Paul Jones.

The improvement of the national defense between 1783 and 1812 was small, so far as the land service is concerned, although something was done in the fortification of the principal harbors and sea-ports. All towns of considerable size on the sea-board, from Portland, in Maine, south to New Orleans, were defended by small fortifications. From the close of the Revolu-

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tionary War until 1797 there was virtually no United States navy, although a few small vessels were kept in commission by some of the States. From 1797 until 1812, several large ships-of-war and many smaller vessels were built and commissioned. The ships did good service during the war of 1812, and with the smaller vessels did credit to the American flag in the Tripolitan war. A few of them remained in existence until lately, and one, the Congress (rebuilt), was sunk by the Confederate ram Virginia (the Merrimac) in Hampton Roads, in 1862.

During the war of 1812, the Canadian frontier was defended by forts and fleets. The other frontiers then to be defended were those of the Atlantic and the Gulf, leaving the Indian frontier out of the question. The enemy was repulsed at Stonington, landed on the Potomac with little opposition, burned Washington, failed in the attempt to capture Baltimore, being checked at North Point and Fort McHenry, and was again foiled at Charleston, and Mobile, and New Orleans. The history of the navy from 1812 to 1815 is as well known to this generation as it was to its contemporaries. It does not seem, from the record of the war of 1812, that Great Britain attempted the invasion of the United States with the hope of making a permanent lodgment, but only for raiding and destructive purposes, as in the case of the burning of Washington.

Immediately after the close of the war of 1812, in the year 1816, President Madison formed a board of engineer officers, upon which was imposed the duty of devising a system of works of defense of the frontier of the United States. He also, by authority of Congress, called General Bernard, a French engineer officer of distinction, to preside over this board, a selection which caused the resignation of some of our best engineer officers, notably that of General Joseph G. Swift, at that time chief of engineers. This board did its work faithfully, and devised a system of fortification for the frontiers which was adopted by the General Government, and had been in a spasmodic course of execution from 1816 until the commencement of the Civil War in 1861. The Indian frontier, which extended from our Northern boundary to the mouth of the Sabine River, skirting the one hundredth degree of west longitude, was an important feature of the national defense at the time. In any discussion of the subject to-day, no account need be taken of any such frontier. The acquisition of Califor-

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nia, the settlement of the Far West, and the consequent elimination of the Indian race, have destroyed it; and, indeed, in the quietest times it moved westward continually, and was never a fixed line.

The principles upon which the board of 1816 acted were founded upon the art of war; and if this assertion is true, the same principles should guide to-day, with the understanding that such modifications should be made as have become necessary from the improvement in war material of all kinds, the introduction of steam in the navigation of the ocean, and the building of railroads. The approaches from the sea to all large cities were to be defended by fortifications, which could not only resist attacks from fleets, but would require a regular siege, if attacked from the land side. The defenses for smaller places and harbors of refuge were to be correspondingly weaker, but strong enough to prevent a foreign fleet from taking refuge therein, and to defend our own vessels which might be forced to seek shelter from attack by an enemy's fleet. In time of war all of these permanent defenses were to be garrisoned by volunteers and militia taken from the nearest inhabitants. The regular army was to be the merest nucleus, only kept up for the purposes of caring for the forts, teaching new levies when war began, and protecting the Indian frontier. The navy was to be kept at such strength that it was to be able to protect our commerce and the honor of the flag in time of peace, and to cope with an enemy's fleet in time of war on the open sea, or to assist in the defense of our harbors. Such, in brief, was the system of defense adopted under the spur of the experience of the war with Great Britain. When this system was adopted, the infantry weapon was the flint-lock musket, the largest cannon afloat or ashore did not throw shot exceeding forty-two pounds in weight, ships of war were propelled by sails, and their strength was determined by the forces of the winds and waves. The strength of the forts, too, was what was required to resist breaching by the naval batteries of those days.

Shell guns were not then in use. Mortars of ten inches caliber were used, but mortar fire from or against vessels in a seaway had never been considered efficient. In the interval between the British war of 1812–15 and the Mexican war of 1846–48, the improvements in arms and ships were small. The percussion lock had been invented, but was not in use by our infantry.

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Shell guns for fortifications and ships, of caliber as great as ten inches, had been brought into use; steam ships-of-war had been built, but these were regarded as experimental rather than practical, and the construction of railroads between important points in the United States had been commenced. During this same interval the system of defense adopted had been sharply discussed by advocates and enemies. Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Poinsett, Mr. B. F. Butler, of New York, Mr. Conrad, all as Secretaries of War; Commodore Morris and General Totten, and other engineer officers, all writing officially, sustained it; while it was attacked, with different degrees of violence and ability, by General Cass, as Secretary of War, in the Cabinet of General Jackson, who was President of the United States at the time, by General Gaines, and by a few officers of the navy and engineer officers of the army. But the system progressed in spite of opposition, and at the commencement of the Civil War the United States were reasonably well protected against foreign attack, considering the conditions of the attacking and defending forces.

Between the end of the Mexican War and 1861, the forces of attack and defense had greatly increased in power, and the United States, although lagging behind other nations, had to some extent kept up with the improvements in ships and guns and small-arms, but no large quantities of war material had been accumulated. Screw war steamers of great size, but not of great speed, the engines partially protected from shot, had displaced side-wheel steamers, and their armaments were nine-inch and eleven-inch guns. For coast defense, eight-inch, ten-inch, and twelve-inch guns were substituted for the old forty-two and thirty-two pounders, and the guns afloat and ashore were equal in efficiency to those in use among other nations. Rifled guns were, up to that time, experimental, and were not in general use. The rifle-musket had taken the place of the smooth-bore, and the soldier had confidence in his weapon, a feeling which he never before possessed. But the Civil War found the country entirely unprepared for the strain that was brought upon it, and the poverty which existed in military material of all kinds necessary for the organization of armies would have brought permanent disaster, except for the fact that our enemy was as badly off as we were. The men were present, but the arms were wanting.

The impetus given by the Civil War to the manufacture of small-arms, cannon, and iron-clad ships excited the inventive

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genius of the people of both sides to the highest degree. The result was the application of metallic-cased cartridges to military arms, rifled cannon throwing one-hundred-pound shot, iron-clads of the Monitor and Ironsides types, and the development of torpedoes for offensive and defensive purposes. This movement did not cease when the war ended, but has continued until the present time. Machine-guns have been developed, and they are now recognized weapons in all military services. The torpedo system has been made practical by the army and navy, and officers of both services are instructed in the use and manufacture of these engines of war. The forts built a generation back, however, have been merely kept from falling to pieces, and there is not one of them that could prevent a modern ship-of-war from passing it, and the ships of the navy are in such condition that, while at the end of the Civil War the navy was the pride of the country, to-day patriotic sailors hang their heads when it is mentioned. Efficient breech-loading small-arms have been manufactured by the ordnance corps sufficient for the supply of the army and marine corps, and for a few State volunteer troops, but no store of them has been collected, so that there is nothing on hand for the armament of the militia. A few thousand volunteer or militia troops have been organized in the States, and are well uniformed and equipped, but the number is small and they are widely scattered. The only implement of warfare in which the United States have kept abreast of modern improvement is the torpedo, and yet it is doubtful whether there is a sufficient number of torpedoes owned by the United States to-day to defend efficiently one large sea-port.

On the other hand, all other civilized nations have for the past twenty years steadily progressed in the improvement and strengthening of forts, ships, guns, small-arms, and torpedoes. Efficient guns have been made and have come into use which weigh one hundred tons and throw projectiles weighing one ton, capable of piercing iron plates from twenty to twenty-four inches thick at distances of one thousand yards. To counteract the enormous power of such guns, iron-clad forts capable of sustaining the fire of the one-hundred-ton guns have been erected, and ships-of-war have been built which are proof even against such projectiles. In fact, all civilized countries except the United States recognize the principles of the art of war, and the wisdom of the hackneyed adage, "In time of peace prepare for war."

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Our efforts have been confined to keeping the old forts in ordinary repair, to building a few ships not iron-clad, and repairing old ships, to supplying the little army with breech-loading small-arms, to making an insignificant annual appropriation for the armament of the militia, and to the development of the torpedo system. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no sea-board city in the United States that could not at this time be laid under contribution by a single hostile iron-clad ship, which, after receiving the contribution, or destroying the city by bombardment, could quietly steam out to sea without danger of damage from anything which any fort or ship of the United States can do. Every year the chiefs of the engineers and ordnance of the army and the heads of bureaus of the Navy Department, sustained by their respective chiefs, and by the Presidents of the United States, have given warning of the dangers which we incur by our inaction, and have urged the necessity of placing our harbors in a decent state of defense, of constructing guns equal in efficiency to those of other civilized nations, of collecting arms for a more speedy armament of the militia, and of building ships of the modern war type.

These men have done everything that it was in the power of men to do to awaken the people to a sense of our deficiencies in national defense. The only effect has been the appointment of boards by law to investigate the subjects of ships, guns, and forts. These boards perform the duties imposed upon them with fidelity and ability, and make proper recommendations. But the effect of their appointment by law is bad, however able their members may be. The responsibility is taken from those with whom it properly rests, and a want of confidence is shown in the proper departments and their subordinates, which, in time, will do harm. The result must be a divided responsibility. The money to carry out the recommendations of these boards has never been given, unless the appropriation made by the last Congress for the construction and armament of ships be an exception. The very information to procure which the boards were formed was already in the possession of the proper departments, and all that was necessary was to appropriate the money to utilize it. In the meantime, the forts and the ships have become worthless and the guns old iron.

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent for objects which, to say the least, could have been postponed until an effi-

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cient national defense by land and sea against all comers had been established. But virtually there has been spent not one cent for *defense*. Any one seeking for the cause of this neglect will find that all those whose duty it is to warn the people and their representatives of the danger have performed this duty in season and out of season. And subordinate officers of both services have shown by their discussions in technical societies, and by their official reports and testimony, that the army and navy are cognizant of and anxious about the dangers attending our undefended frontiers.

Nor is Congress alone in fault. Although it has power under the Constitution to "provide for the common defense" of the United States, and has not, for the period since the Civil War, exercised this power, yet had the people felt the interest in the subject which it deserves, the power would have been exercised. Congress follows public opinion, it does not form nor lead it. And in the case of the national defense, the people have not indicated that they are alive to the importance of the subject through State legislatures, the press, by public meetings, by action of commercial bodies, or by any other means. Seemingly, it is not of the slightest importance to them, and their representatives have only adopted their views. When the punishment comes, as it surely will come if the same neglect be continued, the people will not have even the poor satisfaction of laying the blame on their public servants. They must bear the blame themselves. No scape-goat will suffice.

If, therefore, the principles upon which the board of 1816 acted in devising a system of defense against foreign attack are correct, the important sea-board cities of the United States, and the harbors, should be defended by forts armed with the best modern guns, and constructed of iron or earth, or of a combination of the two materials, capable of preventing a fleet from passing them. Torpedoes should be stored in quantities sufficient to insure the destruction of a fleet attempting to enter the harbor channels, and shot-proof depots for the storage and manipulation of torpedoes and their materials in the presence of the enemy should be constructed. The navy should be kept abreast of modern improvements in ships and guns, as well as torpedoes, so that a foreign fleet should know, in undertaking a descent upon our coast, that it must fight before it can enter our waters. Material for the armament of the militia should be

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collected in large quantities, so that raw levies could be armed at once. The formation of organized bodies of State troops, under their military laws, should be encouraged by every proper means; "an accurate record of all such organizations should be kept in possession of the War Department," and the organization and equipments of these troops should be made to conform, as nearly as possible, to what they should be in time of war.

Various reasons in explanation of the dilatory military policy of the United States since the end of the Civil War have been given, among others these:

First. The remoteness of the United States from any country likely to organize a hostile expedition is so great, and the failure of combinations for a distant military enterprise so probable, that we need not anticipate danger from such an undertaking. But the distance between France and Russia in 1812 was, so far as the time and means of traversing it by an army are concerned, ten times greater than is the distance between the United States and any European State. Yet this distance did not prevent the most gigantic expedition of modern times from making a successful entrance into Russia, and although the result was disastrous to the French, the expedition inflicted great injury upon Russia. In fact, the present distance between China and the United States (China being the most distant country with which the United States can ever come in conflict), viewed as to time and means of transport, is little, if at all, greater than was that between Russia and France in 1812, and this distance diminishes continually.

Second. The European powers are so jealous of each other that a war with the United States on the part of one of them would make an opportunity which would be seized by the others to wipe out old scores. So there is no danger of such a war. There is some force in this statement. But the war-making power in Europe is not in general in the possession of the people, and is held by the so-called governing classes. Should any cause of war arise between the United States and any European State, the jealousies of these governing classes would probably be small in comparison with their hatred of the United States and their free government, and the desire to embrace an opportunity to humble this country, and thus destroy its influence upon their people.

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Third. The power of the United States is so great, and their trade is so important to the European powers, whose subjects, moreover, are large holders of American securities, that any of them would be loath to allow a difficulty with us to culminate in war. If wars were brought on deliberately and with wisdom on both sides, there might be force in this argument. But if deliberation, and wisdom, and justice ruled the nations in their relations with each other there would be no wars. Men and nations must be taken as they are, and history is full of instances in which sudden, foolish, and unjust wars have been carried on between nations of the highest civilization, without thought as to the respective powers of the nations engaged, and without care of the dismal consequences to both belligerents. The very fact that our relations are becoming more intimate with other nations makes the probability of quarrels with them greater. There is now scarcely a nation in Europe with which our trade in food products, or the citizenship question, might not at any time be the cause of bad blood.

Fourth. Taking the most unfavorable view of the subject, and supposing war unavoidable, the United States would have ample time to get ready, and would be prepared to drive off a foreign foe, no matter where his attack might be made. But it is not likely that negotiations leading to war would last longer than a few months. Our unprepared state would precipitate the crisis, and as years are required to build iron-clad forts and ships and modern guns, this argument needs no discussion. It is plain that it has no weight. In general, the public does not know until the danger confronts us that there is likelihood of war. In the case of the seizure of Mason and Slidell on board the English steamer Trent by one of our naval officers in 1862, we were somewhat prepared, because we were already in a state of war. In the difficulty with Spain in 1873, in the Virginius matter, and in that with Chili in 1881, concerning our diplomatic interference in the war between Chili and Peru, nothing was known by the people until the danger was imminent, and hasty measures for collecting and arming a fleet were taken in the first-named case without action of Congress. Yet in both of these cases the nations with which we were likely to be in conflict possessed ships which could have laid our sea-board cities under contribution, or could have destroyed them, and we could have done nothing to avoid the disgrace. Whether the existence of an efficient coast defense and

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a powerful navy at these times would have modified our diplomacy and have produced different results cannot now be stated definitely; but valuable opportunities may have been lost through our weakness.

There is no ground for the belief that a foreign power will attempt to make a permanent lodgment in the United States. Such an effort, without the assistance of the people of the invaded part of the country, which under no circumstances would be given, would meet with speedy disaster, and no such project could be matured without ample warning to the United States. The attacks which are to be feared, and which should be provided against, would probably be of the nature of raids on a large scale, made against the exposed sea-ports, and with the least warning possible.

Fifth. It would have been an unwarrantable waste of money to attempt to keep abreast of modern improvements in the material of war, and we already have the benefit of foreign expenditure and experience without cost to us. Now it is true that we have not spent the money, but it is not true that we have the experience. Our officers, since 1865, have taken all the means at their disposal to acquaint themselves with the methods of constructing iron-clad forts and ships, and modern guns. But it is not in the nature of things that they or any other persons in the United States should know anything practically of the construction or handling of any of these things, as they are now made and handled. Several years (no man can tell the precise number) would be required before the first ship, fort, or gun could be completed, and several years more before they could be turned out in quantities sufficient to constitute an efficient defense, and our officers and men be made familiar with sailing the ships and handling the guns.

There are other arguments in favor of our past policy of a weak national defense, based upon the improbability of future wars, the increase of the feeling in favor of the settlement of disputes between nations by arbitration, etc. Those who believe that there will be no more war will not be persuaded by any argument from past experience, nor from what is going on in the world now, nor even if one were to rise from the dead. They will hold their opinions until the war is upon us. Even in 1861 there were men who believed that there would be no civil war in the United States.

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It is an unpleasant task to tell unwelcome truths. The person who performs it is placed in the category of those who give unasked advice. Thousands of lives and much treasure will be saved, and national humiliation avoided, if the American people awake to their duty of properly defending their coasts, a duty the cost of the performance of which is infinitely small compared to the benefit to the United States which will inure from its proper and speedy performance, and the longer neglect of which is sure to bring punishment in this or a succeeding generation.

W. B. FRANKLIN.

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RAILROAD AND PUBLIC TIME.

In a former paper,* the part which the railroads were to play in bringing about convenient time standards in the United States was fully pointed out. There appeared recently an official expression of the opinion of the railroad managers, written by the Secretary of the General and Southern Railway Time Conventions, which so clearly indicated the desirability of introducing hourly standards, that it is now generally agreed among the railroad people that the fall and winter time-tables are to be made up according to the new standards of time.† The resolutions do not advocate any rigid division of standards of time by astronomical meridians, but very sensibly keep communities and railroads which are associated to the same standard. Thus, for instance, the first resolution implies that Portland, Boston, Providence, New London, New York, Montreal, Albany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Toronto, Hamilton, Washington, Richmond, and Charleston, and the railroads connecting these points, are to use the "Eastern," or 75th meridian time. "Central" time, or the 105th meridian, will be used by the great system of railroads lying west of Pittsburg and Savannah and east of Toyah on the Texas Pacific, and Whitewood on the Northern Pacific. The names to be given to the various standards are, for the 60th meridian west of Greenwich, "Intercolonial"; for the 75th meridian, "Eastern"; for the 90th meridian, "Central";

* North American Review, December, 1880.

† Report on the subject of National Standard Time made to the General and Southern Railway Time Conventions, held in St. Louis, April 11, 1883, and in New York City, April 18, 1883; and directed to be forwarded, with accompanying map, to the managing officer of each railway line situated in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, together with other papers relating thereto. By W. F. Allen, Secretary of the Conventions. National Railway Publication Company Print, 46 Bond street, New York.

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for the 105th meridian, "Mountain"; and for the 120th meridian, "Pacific" time. It will be seen that the only change in these names from those previously proposed is in calling Atlantic time "Eastern" time and Eastern time "Intercolonial" time. "Atlantic" corresponds with "Pacific," and there does not seem to be any very good reason for the change.

So much for the scheme of the railroad people. When it goes into operation, there will be a little dissenting by the almanac makers and a little more by the people who would like to see absolutely the same time from one end of the country to the other; but all the rest of us will change our watches and clocks, and forget the inconvenience and irritation of preceding years and only know that everybody keeps the same time that we do. The traveler from Chicago will know that his watch is an hour slow when he leaves Pittsburg coming east, and the traveler from Quebec to Charleston that he is an hour fast when he leaves St. Augustine for Winnipeg. Fortunately our Eastern time meridian passes between New York and Philadelphia, and the Central meridian passes between Chicago and St. Louis. These are very nearly population centers, and the very large majority therefore of the population of the country will have the true local time practically coincident with the public time in use. In such a State as Ohio, however, in which the local time will be half an hour fast of the public time, there will be certain days about the 1st of November in which the sun will cross the meridian about a quarter past eleven, Central time, and a quarter before twelve about February 20th. The extreme effect in November will be to shorten the business mornings, and to lengthen the business afternoons, by three-quarters of an hour, or half an hour less or more than at present. In Pittsburg and in western New York the effect will be just the opposite. In England, where the extreme difference of time between the Greenwich standard time and the local time in the extreme West is also about half an hour, the variance is not felt as a business inconvenience. In our country, with our brighter skies and our greater dependence on daylight, our banks and commercial bodies may find it expedient to alter their nominal times of doing business by half an hour, wherever the change of times is most perceptible.

With the general adoption of such uniform standard time comes the question of supply and transmission of time for public use. It might appear that the U. S. Naval Observatory

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should be the chief source and center for the distribution of time in the United States. This ought not, however, to be the case, nor would it prove most profitable to the scientific interests of the country that it should be so. The private observatories, by which is meant those not supported by the General Government, have been for many years the teachers of the public on the time question. Most of them are telegraphically connected with the cities and railroads in their vicinity, and are performing the work of furnishing the time to the satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. They are living examples to the business men around them of the usefulness of astronomical science in every-day life. They earn from their time services sums of money, small to be sure, but sufficient in the aggregate to enable them to do a fair amount of purely scientific work; and in some cases observatories are kept alive by their income from this source. Time for commercial use is about the only incidental product of an astronomical observatory. It is the first thing the astronomer must have, and he must have it constantly. It is not therefore a business venture with its attendant risks for an observatory to "sell time." It is rather the utilization of a product which will otherwise be unused. There is no pretense that the Naval Observatory will do the work better than it is now done by the best private observatories, and it is to be hoped that well enough will be let alone. There are large areas of territory, particularly in the South, where there are no private observatories, which will naturally look to the Naval Observatory in the future, as they have in the past, for their standard time.

It is doubtless within the province of Congress to introduce national legislation on this subject as pertaining to interstate commerce. Until such legislation is established, either by Congress or the separate States, the question as to what is legally the time of day will occasionally be in dispute. The General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, at its January session, 1881, passed by a unanimous vote, "An Act establishing a Standard of Time." In this act the Legislature assumed the right to establish a standard time meridian, to make a contract for the obtaining of an accurate time standard, and to require the railroads of the State, as a measure of public safety in railroad traffic, to transmit and display this time. Bills with the same object in view have been introduced in the legislatures of

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other States, and it can only be a short time until the time question will be a common subject of legislation. The operation of the law referred to, in Connecticut, has been watched by the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and at the close of the first and second years of its working they speak of it with commendation. They say in their report for 1881:

"The importance of accuracy and uniformity, both as a means of preventing accidents and of determining responsibility, when one occurs, needs no argument.

"In the case of one accident during the year, the evidence was conflicting, whether it occurred at a certain time or four minutes later, and upon that difference of four minutes depended the determination of the question whether a rule of the company had been violated or not. If the accident occurred at the later time the rule was violated, while a compliance with it would have prevented the accident.

"In another instance, which, like the former, was a rear collision, had this system been in use, and the time-pieces of the conductors and engineers corrected by a standard time on starting out, a half hour before the accident, in all probability it would not have occurred, but if it had, there would have been no question as to where the entire responsibility rested.

"Not only is there no absolute uniformity of time among all our roads, but there is no attempt at it, except among those named, and approximately on some connecting lines. East of the Connecticut River there are three standards, and two west of the river . . .

"Did the advantages and profit of this uniformity accrue solely, or even chiefly, to the railroad companies, then the expense of determining and distributing the standard time would properly be charged to them, but its advantages extend to all classes, and the distribution of the cost should be co-extensive."

The merchants, manufacturers, and railroad people unite in their favorable opinion of the law, and the consequent cessation of vexatious time differences in the State. The time is furnished, transmitted, and displayed throughout the State with precision and regularity, and no opinion has yet been expressed that the State is otherwise than a gainer by its contracts for furnishing the time. The experiment is referred to here as affording an example of what may be done elsewhere to the mutual advantage of the States and observatories within their borders.

Connected with the time question for a single country like ours is that of international time, to which the new name has been given of Cosmopolitan time. President Barnard has ex-

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plained * and supported this system, and an International Commission has been proposed to consider it. In this system the prime meridian is one hundred and eighty degrees, or twelve hours, from Greenwich, passes near Behring Strait, and lies almost wholly in the ocean. The day begins at midnight, and the hours are counted up to twenty-four. At intervals of an hour from the prime meridian occur the secondary meridians. These meridians are designated by the consecutive letters of the alphabet omitting J and V. The minutes and seconds would be the same the world over in Cosmopolitan time, and the local time at any place would be found by subtracting the number of hours corresponding to the standard meridian from which the local time is reckoned, local time signifying the time of the nearest hourly standard meridian. This is very convenient for navigators, since the "change of count" takes place near the prime meridian, and events recorded in Cosmopolitan time are comparable, without considering differences in longitude.

The necessity of uniformity in time is so generally recognized that projects for its display are already enlisting capital in a new branch of industry. In Paris, Berlin, Vienna, London, and more recently in New Haven and New York, stock companies have been formed for the purpose of regularly selling time to whoever wants to buy. These companies, which are financially quite successful abroad, where the results of the experiment have already accumulated, receive the time from the astronomical observatories, and by means of systems of pneumatic tubes, or telegraph lines, or both combined, they transmit the time to clock-dial indicators in the houses or places of business of their subscribers. Instead of buying a clock, the coming householder pays a new tax in addition to that for gas and water, and new monopolies for furnishing time to streets and city houses will in the not distant future plague the city fathers.

* Preamble and resolution submitted to the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, at their meeting in August, 1881, at Cologne, in Rhine-Prussia, by President F. A. P. Barnard, of Columbia College.

LEONARD WALDO.

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MORALITY AND RELIGION.

MR. KIDDER.

THE man who does not accept the doctrines laid down by the authorities of the Christian Church is set down as an "unbeliever," and the Church has heretofore so dominated the sentiment of society as to make it a term of reproach. It is ceasing to be so. The most intelligent, the most cultivated, and the most conscientious members of the community are coming more and more to reject the doctrines still deemed essential in the Church, while their character for virtue and respectability has to be recognized. Doubt very naturally arises as to whether religious belief has any necessary connection with moral conduct, whether, in fact, the so-called believer is any better than the so-called unbeliever.

In the first place, the difference between them is not that one believes and the other does not believe, but that they do not believe alike, and that their belief has not the same foundation. We dispute the right of the Church believer any longer to cast reproach on the believer outside of the Church, or to thank God that he is either better or safer than other men. But what do "unbelievers" believe? They believe as much in virtue and good morals as Christians of the "straitest sect." They believe in uprightness—righteousness, if you please—as best for mankind in this life and in any life to which they may be destined, and they believe in promoting virtue and uprightness by every means. But they believe that what is called the Old Testament Scriptures is simply a mass of Hebrew literature, subject to the same canons of criticism that apply to any other collection of books. They believe that the judgment which selected these particular books and called them sacred was a fallible human judgment. They believe the Pentateuch to contain a purely mythical account of the creation of the world and the origin of

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the human race. They believe that the account of the origin and history of the Jewish people is mixed up with legend, much of it incredible. They believe the Mosaic law in all its details to be a human production, applicable to a particular people in a rude age, though it contains some moral precepts universally accepted. They believe the early Jewish idea of the Deity to be a monstrous combination of the attributes of the heathen gods and the Oriental despots of the time, exalted by the genius of Moses, and varied from time to time by the priests and prophets of the Jewish people. They believe that the annals of the Hebrews contain a good deal of rubbish and some absolutely disgusting incidents, and that the whole mass is to be treated like any other literature of an ancient people. The prophets and psalmists, like the philosophers and singers of other nations, produced many things worthy of preservation and admiration, but nothing that should be exempt from a discriminating criticism. The people for whom the present writer speaks have their belief about the Old Testament, as clear and positive as that of the Church.

So have they of the New Testament. They regard that as a peculiarly interesting collection of literature, pertaining to the life and teachings of a singularly pure and enthusiastic preacher who sacrificed his life to the intolerant spirit of the established theology of his time and who has exercised a wonderful influence over human history. They admire his character and his teachings, but believe that both have been amazingly distorted. The record written up from tradition long after his death is, of course, imperfect. Superstition and credulity added much that would be rejected in any other old record and should be in this. "Unbelievers" believe the gospels to be a crude and imperfect record, containing many errors of fact and much coloring of belief derived from writers who were not cognizant of the facts. They regard Paul and the apostles as the real founders of Christianity as a system, but they believe that Christianity as it now exists has been a growth, like every other system, whether of religion, politics, or philosophy,—the work of man in the same sense in which government and the theories and methods of public administration are the work of man.

Those whom the Church calls unbelievers found their belief on the study of nature and of man. It is made up of the best conclusions of human experience, human knowledge, and

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human study up to this point in the world's development. Those conclusions contradict most of the belief based on what is called revelation; consequently they cannot accept that revelation as Divine or authoritative. Do they believe in a God, in immortality, and in a future state of man? That depends on the definition of these terms and on the mental constitution of the believer. Few pretend to have any positive answer to make to unanswerable questions. They go as far in their conclusions as human knowledge and human reasoning can carry them, and there they stop. They have no right to assume, save each for himself. They do not, like the Church, claim a peculiar conclusiveness or a peculiar sacredness for their assumptions, or try to impose them on others.

It makes no difference what men believe upon the doctrinal points of religion; they are no better or worse for believing or not believing. In other words, there is no connection between morality and dogmatic belief. A man may reject the doctrines of the Church entirely and be just as virtuous, just as upright, just as good, and just as safe for all the chances of eternity as the most devout believer in them. The moral teachings of Christianity do not differ, in the main, from the moral teachings of philosophy. Unbelievers accept them, not as the result of revelation or the offspring of religion, but as the best deductions of human experience and thought. They are apart entirely from matters of doctrinal belief or religious worship, and just as good coming from Zoroaster as from Solomon, from Buddha as from Jesus, from Socrates as from Paul, from Shakespeare as from Augustine. The question does not directly concern what the Church has done or is doing as an organization for the good of humanity. If our position is sound, it could do just as much without its dogmas, and its power to do it is not dependent on its system of doctrinal belief; or the same good could be done by a human organization otherwise founded. Moreover, the unbeliever in Christian doctrines, as we have defined his position, must not be confounded with the class which does not think at all and which has no belief of any kind. This class, being ignorant and unintelligent, is apt to be vicious, but it is not usually graced with the epithet of infidel. It is subject to superstition and given to credulity; it is moved by appeals to the hopes and fears, and it may be that the Church in the peculiar character of its teachings still serves a useful purpose in improving the lives and conduct of the lower ranks of

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humanity. Perhaps the philosophy of the unbeliever could not or would not directly reach and elevate them, though it may be claimed that methods which elevate the race as a whole bring up the very lowest layers and let light into the darkest places. The results of scientific study and of progressive thought enlighten the every-day common sense of the people, and it is not merely the student and thinker who refuses to be a believer, in the sense imposed upon the word by the Church. The mass of the people are coming more and more to reject the old dogmas, and less and less to need them.

Systems of theology in the past have been the product of human need in the lower stages of mental and moral development, and they have served their purpose in the progress of civilization. To-day, theology is in the rear of thought and not in the van. It holds to worn-out dogmas, potent in times of ignorance and superstition, impotent in the light of science and philosophy. The latter are destroying religious belief as it has been held in the past, and the result is not a lower standard of moral conduct. To the man who reasons clearly the promises and threats of religion are futile, and it is through promises and threats that it has done its work. Such a man can govern his own conduct and try to improve others without these. We have reached the stage where society generally can do without them; they are losing their effect, and agencies of moral support and improvement can be made quite as effective without any regard to the doctrines that are now held by the Church as essential to salvation. The belief of the "unbeliever" is as good for the moral well-being of man as the belief of the Christian.

Nor do we ignore the needs of what is called the spiritual nature of man, or, more accurately speaking, his emotional nature. But we contend that the highest intellectual view of the life and destiny of mankind, a view based on knowledge and reason and requiring no other revelation, gives room for the loftiest development, the fullest exercise, and the amplest sustenance and support for that part of man's nature usually denominated spiritual. To admit that it requires a belief which intelligence and reason do not accept would be equivalent to holding that delusion is necessary to the comfort and consolation of the human soul.

What we contend for is simply this: The position of unbelief in the distinctive dogmas of the Christian Church to-day is the result of scientific investigation and critical study, and is gener-

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ally accepted, not only by students and thinkers, but by the intelligent common sense of the mass of mankind. It is strengthened by every advance in discovery and in that philosophy which is the outcome of human knowledge. The prevailing type of Christianity, on the other hand, clings to superstition and credulity as the basis of its influence. It will not, so far as it can help it, permit common sense to assert itself in the place of unreasoning faith in the dreams of the olden time. The consequence is that the Church is losing its hold on the convictions of men and on the conscience of the community. The belief that is founded on scientific conclusions and common sense affords as solid a basis for moral character and as firm a support for virtue as belief in the religious doctrines of the past or present. It is not denied that the Church, as an organization, has done and is doing good to humanity, nor is it claimed that it makes no difference what a man believes, or whether he believe anything, in matters of ethics. But it is claimed that if the Church abandoned its outworn creeds, and gave up old superstitions about Divine revelation, vicarious atonement, salvation by faith, and future retribution, it could do far more good by reaching and elevating a larger number of people. It is certain that if it does not keep up with the mental progress of the race, it will fall behind in moral progress, and will lose its influence upon the intelligent and thinking part of mankind.

F. A. KIDDER.

PROF. HODGE.

IT is quite possible that, during the long history of theological disputation, some orthodox dogmatist may have equaled, in disconnected utterance of unproved assertions the agnostic text furnished us, in the stead of a subject, as a basis for this discussion; but it is impossible that any one of them could in this regard have surpassed it. From the eddy of remark we disentangle three unsupported assertions, each of which could be adequately met by a simple denial.

First. It is asserted that the designation of those who reject as untrue the common faith of Christendom, by the term "infidel," is unjust, and that "the difference between them (Christians and non-Christians) is not that one believes and the other does not believe, but that they do not believe alike." Now, this has

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always been understood equally by both parties in the use of the word. We maintain that when the epithet "infidel" is applied, as is universally intended, to one who holds the characteristic truths of either or both natural or revealed religion to be incredible, it expresses with scientific accuracy the facts of the case and nothing more nor less. These persons are "infidels" in relation to those objects of faith understood definitely on each occasion of its application. The radical significance, the infinite importance, the practical consequence of the truths rejected; the millennial continuity, the catholic consensus, the venerable dignity of the Church; the substantial agreement of the vast majority of the European peoples,—require that dissent from *this* faith should be emphasized as *the* "infidelity." As believers, we wish to be known only precisely for what we are. Why should skeptics desire to apply to themselves the designations which centuries of association have inseparably bound to the faith they despise? If the term "infidel" carries with it unpleasant suggestions, arising from historical associations, which party is to blame for the fact?

Second. It is contended that the result of scientific progress and of critical investigation has been to render incredible the distinctive doctrines of the Christian Church, and that this is recognized not only by the highly cultured, but also "by the intelligent common sense of the mass of mankind." This involves the claim (1) that men of high culture, as such, see the impossibility of the truth of Christianity, and (2) that the power of Christianity as a living system of faith is visibly declining among the mass of civilized mankind; and the scope of the contest involves the claim that this disillusionizing effect of modern enlightenment extends to the whole field of natural as well as of revealed religion. No evidence of either of these assertions is suggested, and each alike is preposterously untrue. As to the former it is answered that, of course, a skeptic may also be a man of science; but to claim that culture renders Christian faith impossible is merely to beg the question, by making skepticism a part of the definition of culture. It is absurd to claim that the highest culture in this age renders faith impossible, when Gladstone and Bismarck are orthodox Christians; when Agassiz, Herschel, Sir William Thomson and Owen are at least thorough theists; when Cuvier, Henry, Tait, Balfour Stewart, Clerk Maxwell, Asa Gray, Guyot, Mivart, Charles Young, W.

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Kitchen Parker (the most advanced of English evolutionists) are but specimens of a great multitude of earnest Christian professors who maintain their position at the forefront of scientific progress. Multitudes of the highest scientific authorities assert that the proved results of science present no obstacle to faith. The protest against it comes with no force higher than that derived from the vagrant speculations of a transient philosophy. And this is ventured against Christianity, which for two millenniums has retained her serene throne, while a countless succession of such philosophic tides have ebbed and flowed around her feet.

The Church, of all interests, has least need to fear the effect of culture. Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, Leibnitz, Kant have all in succession brought their tribute to her temples. Our ground of complaint is that our opponents are only half-educated specialists. They study the physical sciences and not the humanities; they use the senses and not the intuitions; they prophesy the future, but do not critically study the past; they read the attacks upon Christianity, but not their refutations. We claim that the great conquests of science have been confirming the truth of God's existence and manifesting the glory of His attributes beyond our fondest dreams. We claim that the results of historical and literary criticism have laid bare the foundations of our faith, and in doing so have confirmed their strength and exhibited their credentials in an exact scientific form. Those who take in the whole field of Biblical criticism, not merely one side of it, know that the drift is now decidedly against the post-exilic origin of the Pentateuch, and in favor of the Apostolic origin of the New Testament. Luthardt, Dillmann, Keil, Delitzsch, Lightfoot, Westcott, Weiss, Ezra Abbott, and others show the claims of victory set up by the opponents of our faith to be very premature. Zoeckler, in a review of the Old Testament literature of 1882, in the January (1883) number of "Luthardt's Zeitschrift," says: "The works of last year controverting the views of Wellhausen and his school preponderate very decidedly, both in number and in scientific merit, over the works on the opposite side." See also the encyclopædic résumé of the History of Biblical Criticism, in the "Presbyterian Review," January 1, 1883.

As to the second point asserted, viz., that the power of Christianity as a living system of faith is visibly declining among the

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mass of civilized mankind, the refutation is no less easily produced, and no less overwhelming. These announcements of the decay and approaching dissolution of Christianity have been repeated, only to be brought to shame over and over again, for the past fifteen hundred years, but never before with so little to excuse and so much to rebut them. In A. D. 304, at the end of the Diocletian persecutions, and only twenty years before Christianity conquered for itself imperial establishment, the Augusti were hailed with new honorary addresses, containing the incidental clauses, "et nomine Christianorum deleto," "superstitione Christiana ubique deleta." Hume, in Scotland, and Voltaire, in France, pronounced in effect equivalent judgments just before the opening of the splendid era of modern revivals of missions and of literary and theological activity, when the Church, supposed to be moribund, has exhibited both intensively and extensively more of the creative energy of the Apostolic age than it had done in any of the centuries that intervene.

We admit, of course, that the external activities of a given community are not wholly commensurate with the contemporaneous mental states and tendencies of its members. The habits of men often remain in action after the faiths of which they are the expression have begun to die at the root, even as the waves of the ocean are often high after the winds which raised them have subsided. We also admit that statistics, like all other systems of facts or of symbols, may be so used as to express untruths. But it is absurd to pretend that a rising wave over an entire ocean can be diagnostic of a falling wind, and statistics, when the induction is broad enough, are among the most solid of all scientific data. Never before has Christianity, nominal and real, advanced as during the present century. The best approximate estimates give as the whole number of nominal Christians on earth at the end of the first century, 500,000; at the end of the seventh century, 25,000,000; at the end of the fourteenth century, 80,000,000; at the end of the seventeenth century, 155,000,000; at the end of the eighteenth century, 200,000,000; and in 1880, 410,000,000. As to the relative political influence of these Christians, we have 100,000,000 of population subject to Christian government in A. D. 1500 as compared with 685,459,000 in A. D. 1876.

As to the religious tendencies prevailing at present in the population of this country, the following statistics, gathered

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with great care from the year-books of all the evangelical churches, will be seen to be conclusive. In the year 1800, there were in the evangelical churches in the United States 3030 congregations, 2651 ordained ministers, and 364,872 communicants. In the year 1850, there were 43,072 churches, 25,555 ministers, and 3,529,988 communicants. In the year 1870, 70,148 churches, 47,609 ministers, and 6,673,396 communicants. In 1880, 97,090 churches, 69,870 ministers, and 10,065,963 communicants. The ratio of the communicants of our evangelical churches to the entire population of the United States at these different dates was, in 1800, one to every 14.50 inhabitants; in 1850, one to every 6.57 inhabitants; in 1870, one to every 5.78; and in 1880, one to every 5 inhabitants. This last, of course, is one communicant to every 2.5 or 3 non-Roman Catholic adult men and women. From 1800 to 1880 the population of the nation increased 9.46-fold; while, in the same time, the evangelical communicants increased 27.52-fold. From 1850 to 1880 the population increased 116 per cent., and the evangelical communicants increased 184 per cent.

The above leaves out of view the 6,367,330 Roman Catholics, who do not report communicants as distinct from the general mass of their adherents. If these are all counted as sincere believers in the truths of historical Christianity, it increases the superior ratio of the increase of those who make a personal acknowledgment of the truth of Christianity over that of the general population 100 per cent. The Catholic population has increased more than four hundred per cent. in the last thirty years.

On the other hand, the liberal churches, which have in some degree followed the advice to put less stress upon the distinguishing doctrines of a pretended supernatural revelation, have been relatively retrograding. The number of parishes claimed by the Unitarians in 1850 was 246, and they had only 335 in 1880, or an increase of 35 per cent. in thirty years as compared with the 250 per cent. increase made by the evangelical churches in the same time. The Universalist churches in 1850 were 1069 and only 956 in 1880, an actual loss of 113 in thirty years. The Christian Church (Unitarian Baptist) has also retrograded from 1500 parishes in 1840 to 1200 in 1880.

That these statistics represent a real faith is shown by the evidence our year-books present of the amazing missionary fruit-

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fulness of these professing Christians. The work of foreign missions is a characteristic enterprise of the present century. Professor Christlieb has estimated that in 1800 the total sum annually contributed in all Christendom to Protestant missions amounted to $250,000. In 1850 the income of the mission boards in England and America was $2,959,541. In 1872 the amount was $7,874,155. The reports from all the missions cannot be obtained, so that, from the nature of the case, our carefully collected reports fall below and can never equal the real facts of the case. Protestant mission societies in Europe and America reported in A. D. 1830: missions 122, ordained missionaries 656, lay helpers 1236, communicants 70,289, scholars 80,656. In A. D. 1850: missions 178, ordained missionaries 1672, lay helpers 4056, communicants 210,957, scholars 147,939. In A. D. 1880: missions 504, ordained missionaries 6696, lay helpers 33,852, communicants 857,332 (148 missions not reporting), scholars 447,602, with hearers and adherents, estimated from the actual reports of the missions, amounting to 2,000,000.

In the meantime, the aggregate funds collected by the evangelical churches in the United States for home missions amounted, from A. D. 1820 to A. D. 1829, to $233,826; from A. D. 1860 to A. D. 1869 they amounted to $21,015,719, and from A. D. 1870 to 1880 they amounted to $31,272,154. Sunday-schools were instituted only one hundred years ago. Fifty years afterward, in A. D. 1830, it is estimated that there were less than 2,000,000 teachers and scholars in the world. In A. D. 1880 there were 14,000,000 teachers and scholars in the world, or 6,000,000 in Europe and 8,000,000 in America.

Young Men's Christian Associations date back only about thirty years and, more than any other religious movement, prove the intense vitality of Christian life in the bosoms of intelligent laymen of the present and coming generation. The "International Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations," held at Milwaukee, Wis., May 16–20, 1883, report in their year-book a total of 2428 associations for the whole world, including 840 for North America; 388 for Great Britain and Ireland; 64 for France; 400 for Germany; 335 for Holland, etc. These labor for the religious welfare of young men, providing for them libraries, lectures, prayer-meetings, Bible classes, and introducing strangers to the churches. Separate departments work in the special fields of "City and Town Associations," "Railroad

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Branches and Associations," and "College Associations," and the reports of the latter are especially significant in this inquiry. They enumerate 170 Young Men's Christian Associations in as many colleges in the United States. These embrace 9250 members, out of 33,000 students in these colleges, and these are the working, as distinct from the professing, Christians. One thousand five hundred students in these colleges professed conversion during the past year. Dr. Ashbel Green said, in A. D. 1813, that there were only two or three students in Princeton College who professed to be religious men. When Dr. Dwight became president of Yale College, in A. D. 1795, only four or five students were members of the church. The reports of 1883 give: in Princeton, 270 professing Christians, who include the great majority of the higher scholars, out of a total of 578 students; and in Yale, 290, out of a total of 611; in Williams, 147, out of 248; and in Amherst, 233, out of 352. In many other colleges the proportions are still more favorable to the prospects of Christianity. It certainly appears as if our "cultured" friends gave too much credit to "the intelligent common sense of the mass of mankind."

Third. The third point asserted without proof is, that morality is entirely independent of religious opinion, and will survive without impairment when all positive opinion on religious questions is abandoned. It is obvious that such a question cannot be debated in the limits afforded for this discussion. It will be sufficient if the following points are noted in rebuttal of the absolutely unsupported assertion of our respondent:

(1.) The contention, as determined by our respondent himself, relates to the independence of morals (not only its idea, but its practical realization in the mass of a civilized community) of all the postulates of natural as well as of revealed religion.

(2.) We on our side, instead of denying, affirm that man is essentially a moral being. That "the law written on his heart" and "the light of nature" render him a moral agent, capable of doing right in many relations and responsible in all known relations, irrespective of any supernatural revelation whatsoever.

(3.) The burden of proof rests upon our respondents, and they labor against the presumption created by the whole unqualified mass of human experience in the past. Morality, as predicable of any community of mankind, never has been separated from religious dogmas and practices. The Buddhists of Siam, Burmah, and China have a low form of religion to which

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the morality of those communities corresponds. The princes of heathen morals, Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Plutarch (A. D. 50–125), all based their morality upon their theology. The latter states the sum of human experience, ancient and modern, when he says: "There has never been a state of atheists. You may travel over the world, and you may find cities without walls, without king, without mint, without theater or gymnasium, but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society, the pillar of all legislation." We do not deny the existence, in this day, of exceptionably lovely characters who are skeptical — often most sadly so — as to all religious truth, natural and revealed. We deny, however, that these prove that morality is independent of religion. Morality in them, as in all others, has its root in theology, and their cases are easily explainable on the scientific principles of heredity, education, and environment. The examples of prominent emancipated moralists, male and female,— as John Stuart Mill and George Eliot, etc.,— do not re-assure us. The experiments made by communities of atheists in the Reign of Terror and in the Commune in Paris, and the proclaimed principles of the "International Society" of Communists, who declare at once the abolition of God, of marriage, and of property, do not re-assure us. The "cultured" must give us proof, not assertion, for their contention that morality is independent of religion.

(4.) Morality is, as to its essence, authoritative. It is the categorical imperative. It is ultimate, incapable of analysis. There has been no success in the attempt to confound it with utility, nor in the more recent and more pretentious attempts to trace its genesis out of associated sensations or animal impulses. It is sovereign over all these and dominates them from above. It necessarily presupposes personality, moral intuitions, and rational and responsible spontaneity. It has existed, as an ultimate fact, just as we find it, throughout all stages of human history. Hence, it is as spiritual and transcendental as religion itself. The same paralysis of faith which tends to render ineffectual the abundant evidences of religion, natural and revealed, would necessarily tend equally to render obscure and ineffectual genuine moral distinctions and obligations.

(5.) Even natural religion, much more the facts and doctrines of the Christian revelation, beyond all controversy

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reënforce the moral element in human nature. They supply the sublime authority of an infinite, eternal, absolutely perfect moral governor; the clear revelation of his will in all relations and under all conditions; the tremendous sanctions of future rewards and punishment; the effective exhibition of our Heavenly Father's absolute righteousness and infinite love; the utterly unparalleled ideal of wisdom and moral perfection in human form exhibited in Jesus Christ; the all-penetrating, all-informing inspiration of the Holy Ghost; the cloud of witnesses; the fellowship of the saints; and the ordinances of the holy Sabbath and of the Christian Church.

If revelation is false, its influence cannot be morally good. But if true, it evidently renders the most sufficient support to morality. If it be withdrawn, we have every reason to apprehend the most serious loss to the moral character and habits of the following generations. If untrue, religion must be immoral; hence, if its influence is moral, it follows that it must be true. This fact, so obvious and vital, is a strong corroborating evidence of the truth of Christianity, and the burden of proof lies wholly on the other side.

(6.) Science, devoid of theism, is universally pessimistic. The worlds all tend to darkness and death. The struggle for life and the survival of the physically fittest often involves the survival of the morally monstrous. Nature is proved to be, as over against all human interests and agencies, fatalistic, mechanical, unsympathetic to all agony, impassive to all struggle, and deaf to all prayer. Take away all theistic intention, and there is no basis for hope. Take away hope, and there is no basis for morals.

(7.) Given theism, Christianity follows. Theistic science leads to Christianity.

(8.) Even if morality could survive religion, our destructive critics will have to prove that morality alone will be sufficient for human needs. What if man be a sinner, as the human conscience has testified in infinite variety of forms, but with absolute identity of sense through all history? What if man needs expiation and a moral change of essential character? This we continue to believe. This is what our respondents have yet to disprove.

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